

CASSANDRA.

(*But I Hope not*)

Telling what will come of it.

NUM. I.

IN

ANSWER

TO THE

Occasional Letter.

NUM. I.

WHEREIN

The *New-ASSOCIATIONS, &c.*

Are CONSIDERED.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1705.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *Occasional Letter*, Mark'd *Num. I.* Gave Occasion to Expect more of them. And the rather, for that this *First Letter* seems very Imperfect; And to have Reserv'd the *Proofs* of what he Asserts to a *Second Performance*.

But having waited thus long, and seeing no Prospect of that, we must take this, as it is, and make our Best of it.

There are some Particulars which are left for a *Num. II.* Not to swell this too much. But the *Contents* of it are put to this, with the *Appendix*, which serves for Both; because it will soon follow this: And that the Reader may see before-hand what he is to Expect. And it may perhaps Prompt the *Author* of the *Occasional Letter*, to give Us likewise a *Num. II.* Which he has Implicitly *Promis'd*. And I suppose will Perform, if he has any thing to say to this.

ERRATA.

P. 13. l. 18. for *lively* read *timely*. p. 14. l. 4. read *is that of*.

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Cassandra.

WHEN GOD has determin'd *Destruction* to a *Nation*, he takes away their *Senses*, they have *Eyes* and *See not*, *Ears*, and *hear not*, they will not *Understand*.

There is a Sett of Men amongst Us who are Visibly Driving on (whether themselves know it or not) the Ruin of these *Nations*; by setting up the *Principles*; and carrying on the same *Pretences*, which began and at last Compleated the Bloody *Revolution* of *Forty One*, with the Destruction of the *Chrch*, the *King*, and the *Laws*.

And when their *Principles* are Examin'd to the Bottom; and their former *Practices* laid before them, with all the Dismal *Consequences*; it has no other Effect with them, than to Excite their *Rage* ten-fold more. They give no other *Answer* than the *Crafts-Men* at *Ephesus*, to Cry out Hours together, *Great is our Diana!*

And if this *Noise* and *Clamour* can Carry it against *Reason*, the *Authority* of the *Holy Scriptures*, the known *Laws* of the *Land*, and our own *Sad Experience*, what can be the Issue, but what it was before, if not worse, as of Sins Repeated, our utter *Destruction*!

The *ten Tribes* who Revolted under *Sheba*, Return'd again: But never after their *Second Defection* under *Jeroboam*; till they were finally Cut off, and their *Name* lost upon the Earth to this Day. And it is observable, That in the Succession of Nineteen *Kings* which they had in that time, there was not one *Good*, tho' all of their own *Choosing*.

I. The Root and Foundation of all our *Republican Schemes*, and
Of plac- Pretences for *Rebellion* is this suppos'd Radical Power in the Peo-
ing the *Re- ple*, as of Erecting *Government* at the Beginning, so to Overtur-
nical Pow- and *Change* it at their Pleasure.
er of Go
vernment
in the Peo-
ple.

To obviate this, the Author of the *New-Association*, Part. 2d. *Supplement*. p. 4, &c. Carries Us to Matter of *Fact*, how *Political* Government did Begin in the *World*: And how the *World* was, at first, *Divided* into several *Nations*. And shews, That this was not done by the *Election* of the *People*; But by that most Stupendious *Miracle* of the *Division* of *Tongues*; whereby all of one *Language* sorting together, and God placing a *Governor* over them, they became a *Distinct Nation*. And he like-
wise tells Us, That from that first *Division* of the *World* into 70 *Distinct Nations* and *Languages*, Mention'd in the xth of *Genesis*, we have the *Names* of the several *Governours* where *Histories* have been Preserv'd, from *Nimrod* all the way to this Present *Em-
peror of Germany*, for Example, and so of others.

Then as to the Reason of the thing, he brings Arguments to shew, That *Government* cou'd not be Founded, nor the *World* *Divided* into *Nations*, upon that Foot of the *Election* of the *Peo-
ple*. That this *Hypothesis* wou'd Render all *Governments Pre-
cious*, and *Eternally Liable to Change and Confusion*. That it was never yet known, nor ever can be, what is meant by the word *People*, in this Scheme of *Government*. For the *whole People* ne-
ver *Chose*. And a *Part of the People* is not the *Whole*. That the *Whole* or *Half* of the *People* do not *Choose* those who are call'd *Repre-
sentatives* of the *People* in *England*. And far les in *Hol-
land*, *Venice*, or any *Republick* that is in the *World*. That this Scheme of Deriving *Government* from the *People*, is much more *Destructive* of the *Rights*, *Liberties*, and *Safety* of *Mankind*, than the other *Model* of *Divine Right* in the *Governors*, as having their *Power* from *God*.

Now let Us see what is Answer'd to this, in the *Occasional Letter*.

As to the first part, the *Original of Government*, and the *Di-
vision of Nations*, it is said, p. 20. That *People* were at first *Divid-
ed out of Necessity*. And supposing the *Governor* not to do Right to his *People*, *They wou'd have had a Right to have proceeded to a*

New

New Choice. This supposes the first *Division* to have been by the *Election* of the *People*. And his bare saying so is all the Proof he brings. He Answers not a Word to the plain *Matter of Fact*, which is directly against him. But adds, That he *Laughs* at *Divine Right*. And thinks it so *Trifling an Argument*, as not to *Deserve a Serious Consideration*. He says, *I cannot see any Reason to think that One Man was Exalted so much above the Rest, for his own, but the Peoples sake.* That is True. But then there are several Reasons given in the *New Assoc.* Why it is best for the *People* not to have the *Choice* in themselves. And none of them are Answer'd. However this is going from *Matter of Fact* to *Reasoning*. Will they then yield the *Fact*? And let us *Reason* afterwards? He says, (*ibid.*) *That when Jacob Died, we find no manner of Superiority left to his Eldest Son Reuben.* This is *Objecting*, instead of *Answering*. What has this to do with the first *Division of Nations*? This is Skipping from one thing to another, without *Answering Distinctly* to any thing. This go's upon the Point of the *Primogeniture*. Which is a Different Head of Argument, from the *Division of Nations*; and comes in the second place, the other being first settl'd. And settl'd it is, for any thing this *Author* says to the Contrary. Therefore I will Answer him as to this, That he will find the Right of the *Primogeniture* fully Asserted in that same Case of *Reuben*. *Gen. XLIX. 3.* Where *Reuben*, on Account of his *Primogeniture* only, is call'd the *Excellency of Dignity, and the Excellency of Power*. But he was *Rejected* (as *Cain* and *Esau* were) for his *Wickedness*, because he *went up to his Father's Bed.* ver. 4.

He says (*ibid.*) *And when Division was made, it was by Lot.* What *Division* do's he mean? Was this the *Division of Nations*? Which is the Point he was to Answer. Or was it the *Division* of the *Holy Land* among the twelve *Tribes*, by *Joshua*? What has this to do with the *People's Choice* of their *Governours*? Was it the *Lots* supposed to be *Cast* among the *Tribes, Families, and Persons*, upon the *Election of Saul*? But he was *Anointed* by *Samuel* before that. *1 Sam. x. 1.* And it was *God* who order'd the *Lots* (if any) to be *Cast*. And the *People* knew not *Saul*, nor after the *Lot* fell upon him, where to find him. ver. 22. And when *God* had told them where he was, *Samuel* said to all the *People*,

See ye him whom the Lord hath Chosen. ver. 24. So that here is no Foundation for the *Election of the People*, but the Direct Contrary. *Saul* first Chosen by *God*. Then *Reveal'd to Samuel*, and by him *Anointed*. Then shew'd to the *People* by him. Whether any *Lots* were Cast in the Case is not Certain, for there is no mention of it in the *Text*; only said that such a *Tribe*, such a *Family*, and such a *Person* was *Taken*. For ought we know, *Samuel* himself *Nam'd* them all. But that is not Material. For however it was, it was by *God's* express ordering, without any *Election of the People*, as to the *Person*.

However this is Foreign to the first *Division of Nations*, and the *Original of Political Government*, upon which the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* do's Insist. And gives this Reason for it, p. 9. *That all Factions have Recourse to this, when they are about to Unhinge, and Over-turn settled Constitutions.* For the *Original Power of People in General*, is not to be taken from the special Dispensation given to any one *Nation*, or *Particular People*; but from the Rights of *Mankind*, Consider'd in their *Natural State*. And whether the first *Division of Nations*, and *Original of Political Government* among *Men*, arose from *Mankind* in this *Suppos'd State of Nature*, and by their own *Free and Voluntary Election*: Or, Whether by the *Institution of God*, without the *Election of the People*? Is the Question we are Concern'd to Discuss. For if the *Latter* be the Case, Then the *People* have no *Original Rights* to Claim, as to the Disposition of *Governments*.

But, says the *Occasionalist*, p. 17. suppose *That Governments were from the Beginning Instituted by God, and That he set a Ruler over every Nation.* — *The People had as much a Divine Right to their Rulers Protection, as they had a Right to Govern.* And let us (says he) put *Matters upon this Foot*, *I shall be ready enough to Grant a Divine Right.*

Well then, we will put *Matters upon this Foot*! Now see if we can agree.

I Grant therefore, *That People have a Right to the Protection of their Governours.* And a *Property in their Possessions*. And by the *Divine Law*. Infomuch that if their *Rulers*, whom *God* has set over them, do *Inade* their *Rights*, they make themselves obnoxious to the *Divine Law*, and to the *Judgment of God*, for so doing. But

But now the Question still Remains, Whether the *People* in such a Case, can Right themselves, by taking *Arms* against their *Governours*? By *Deposing* them, and *Choosing* others in their Room?

And for the *Negative*, these Reasons are Urg'd in the *New Association*.

1. That the *Right* of the *Governours* being *Divine*, must, upon no Account, be *Invaded*. And that we make our selves *Obnoxious* to the *Divine Vengeance*, if we *Invade* his *Right*! As he do's, if he *Invades* ours.

2. That we cannot take *Arms* and *Depose* him, without Assuming the *Power* of *Government* to our selves; which upon the *Scheme* now suppos'd, is *Usurping* the *Sword of God*, which He never gave Us. And Consequently a *Rebellion* against *God*. Putting our selves in his Place. And a Dissolving of the *Constitution* which he has *Ordain'd* to *Represent* Himself; and by which he do's *Govern* the *World*.

3. That by *Un-hinging* of *Government*, and putting it in the *People*, we shall bring Greater *Mischiefs* upon our selves, than those we seek to Avoid under our *Governours* of *God's Appointment*. And our *Confusions* can have no End, in that Frame of Things: Because the *Centre of Government* can never be *Fix'd* in the *People*; that being a word of no Certain Denomination. And Contending Parties may *Fight* it out, upon Equal Claim of *Right*, to the End of the *World*. Therefore that there can be no lasting *Settlement*, no *Security*, but in a *Divine Right*, to which all ought to *Submit*.

4. Let me add, That our *Lives* are only at *God's Disposal* who gave them. He has not left them in our own *Power*. Therefore we cannot by any *Acts* of ours, give that to others, which we have not our selves; Give to any other a *Power* over our *Lives*. And Consequently the *Power* of *Life* and *Death* can never be given by the *Election* of *People*; or any other ways than by a *Divine Right*; without which there can be no *Obligation*, of *Conscience*, to obey any *Government*, or not to *Overtur*n it, if I can Gain a Stronger *Party* to my Side; for then it is the *People*! And if the lesser Number Prevail, they are the *People*; and the *Ballance* of *Power* is on their Side! The *Minor* may be the *Potior pars*. And setting aside *Divine Authority*, I know no

Man.

Man has *Power* over me, more than I over him; since *Nature* has put us all upon a *Level*. And I will break loose from, when I can, as from a *Robber*; and so may he from me. And if the *Major Number* say, you may *Quit the Country*, if you like not the *Frame* and *Constitution* which we have *Voted*. I will say, No. Who gave you *Power* to *Banish* me my *Country*? It is my *Country* as well as yours. And for the *Major Vote*, the *Greatest Part* of the *World* are *Knaves* and *Fools*. I am *Born Free*, and no Man has *Right* to take my *Freedom* from me. And if I can gather a *Party*, tho' *Fewer*, we will *Fight* you for it. I grant we do it at our *Peril*. But what I say, is, That there is no *Obligation* of *Conscience* on either side. There is no such thing as *Right* and *Wrong*, as *Just* or *Unjust*. Nor can there be any *Settlement* of *Government*, till we come to a *Divine Right*. To what else shou'd I give up my *Life* or my *Liberty*, if I can *Preserve* them? Tho' I should do it, by overturning twenty *Governments* that stand upon no other *Foundation* than what I carry within my own *Breast*, that is, the *Original Right* and *Freedom* of *Mankind*. By which *Two Men* have no other *Power* over *One*, but *Force*. And that may be *Repell'd* by *Force*. Here is no *Authority*, to which I ought to *Obey*, for *Conscience* sake.

As to the *Case* of *Usurpers* and *Common-Wealths*, it is *Answer'd* in the *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 9. That the *Government* in *Being* has the *Right*, where there is none who *Claim* a *Better Right*. But this not from the *Election* of the *People*, if that were *Suppos'd*, for no *Government* or *Constitution* was ever yet set up by the *Free* and *Equal Election* of All the *People*: But as *Possessing* that *Authority*, which *God* at first *Founded* in the *division* of *Nations*, and *Design'd* to continue to the *End* of the *World*. If those in *Possession* came wrongfully by it, they will *Answer* it to *God*. But still it is theirs of *Right*, where none *Claim* a better *Right* to it than they have. As a *Man* who *Steals* a *Hat*, has a *Right* to it against any but the *Owner*; so that if any others take it from him by *Force*, it is *Robbery* in them. And yet the *Act* of *Robbery* always *Remains a Sin*. And notwithstanding, *Possession* gives a *Right*, against all who have not a *Better Right*. And this arises from the *Necessity* of *Government*, which *God* *Himself* at first did *Institute*, and *Ordain'd* to *Continue*. And which never yet

yet did, or ever can Devolve to the People. For that would be perfect *Anarchy*; which, as my Ld. Bp. of *Sarum* well says, *Opens a Door to Endless Confusions, which will never admit of Order or Remedy.* And he makes it worse than putting the *Power* into the Hands of the most Cruel *Tyrant*, even of the *Pope* himself.

Vindication of the
Church
and State
of Scotland
p 68, 69.

Now let us see what the *Occasional Letter* says to these things.

It says thus, p. 20. *And how unfit this Writer may imagine a Heady Multitude to be, to fix upon Order or Government, yet 'tis certain, that Necessity will bring them to it; and it will be strange, if there should not be among them some, that have Heads wise enough to Invent a Scheme, for their Security and Protection, which the largest part will Agree to: And the Rest, if they please, may seperate and remove, where they think to be better Govern'd.*

Now instead of this being an *Answer* to what is Advanc'd in the *New Assoc.* (Part of which is set down before) *That is a Direct Answer to This.* And it is shew'd there, *That there can be no such Scheme Invented, by any Heads how Wise soever.* Why will they not shew such a *Scheme* to Us? They have been long about it! And many *Schemes* have they made. Yet none will Hold! They can never make one, upon the Foot of the *People*, that is not altogether *Precarious, Nonsense, and Contradiction.* That can give any *Basis or Settlement to Government:* Or oblige any to submit for *Conscience* sake: Nay farther, That do's not Destroy and Utterly Subvert their *Beloved and Foundation-Principle of the Original Freedom and Independence of the People;* Since all these *Schemes* end in a *Force* upon those, who will not Comply with their *Constitution.*

And all the *Answer* hitherto given by these *Scheme-Mongers*, is only to say, They are sure there may be such a *Scheme!* And it were Strange (as this Author says) if there should not!

Finding no Relief in *Arguments or Schemes*, he produces an ^{II:} *Instance*, which he thinks none Dare Answer. He Represents our ^{Concern.} *Constitution* and the *Laws*, as Founded upon the *People*. Then ^{Laws of} Proves that this Cannot be *Jure Divino.* And so his Point is ^{the Land,} *Gain'd* ^{and our} *own Constitution.* !

I shall the more willingly Answer this, because many are De-
ceiv'd by it; And understand not our *Constitution* or the *Laws*,
or Wilfully *Mistake* them.

He

He begins, p. 16. with making the *Queen*, (or *King*) *Lords*, and *Commons*, the *Three Estates*. And makes the *Ballance of Power* to *Confist* in their *good Agreement*. But says he, *If either grows Arbitrary, and Breaks through their Bounds at Pleasure, then Publick Liberty is indeed in Danger, and we know not where to Look for it.* But when the *Regular order* is *observ'd*, then 'tis very *Easie to know where to find it.* Here the *Centre of Government* is *plac'd*, and *I hope will long Continue*, Notwithstanding all the *Trifling, Groundless Pretences of a Fis Divinum* to prove it *Unlawful*.

Here is a *Centre* indeed, and a *Ballance*! One would think he were *Playing Booty*! He makes *Three Co-ordinate Powers*, each at *Liberty* to *Encroach* upon the other, and *Gain* more of the *Ballance* to themselves; and if these, or any *One* of them should *Differ* with the *Other*; then he *Confesses* there is no *Centre* or *Ballance* at all! There is no *Judge* betwixt them, the *Sword* must *Decide* it.

Is it then a thing so *Rare* to be found, was it never *Heard of*, that *King*, *Lords* and *Commons* should *Differ* about their several *Powers, Privileges, and Prerogative*?

Especially Considering that in the second Part of *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 11. Which this Author is here *Answering*, that same *Treatise* which in this very *Page*, p. 16. He calls a *Learned* and *Judicious* One, is Quoted, saying, *That in the whole Compass of History, no one single Example can be brought, of any One popular Assembly, who after beginning to contend for Power, ever sate down Quietly with a Certain share.* And *that no One Instance could be produc'd, of a Popular Assembly that ever Knew, or Propos'd, or Declar'd what share of Power was their Due.* And concludes, *That there is no Hopes of this Matter being Adjusted.*

Now let this *Author* *Answer* his own *Learned* and *Judicious Treatise*; Or otherwise *Confess*, That his *Centre* and *Ballance* of *Power* is *Impracticable*, of which no *Instance* can be given in *History*; And no *Method* possible to be *Prescrib'd* for it, since none of the *Ballancers* do *Know*, and therefore cannot *Agree* what *share of Power is their Due*.

III.
of the To make out this *Ridiculous Scheme* of *Government*, our Modern *King*, and *Ballancers* of *Power* have *Reviv'd* again (and for the same *Ends*) the *Three Estates*. the *Trayterous* and long since *Exploded Notion* of their *Predecessors*

cessors in the *Rebellion of Forty One*, That the King is a Part of the *Parliament*, and One of the *Three Estates of Parliament*; and so *Co-ordinate* with the *Two Houses of Lords and Commons*. That having thus brought him to a *Level* with his *Subjects*, they might the more easily *Depose* him.

This they Proclaim'd aloud in their *Observators*, and often Repeated. Which being fully and Judiciously Answer'd in the *Heracitus*, Num. 10, 12, 13. That the King is none of the Three *Estates*, and several *Acts of Parliament* Quoted, which makes it clear past *Contradiction*, or other Answer from the *Observator*, than his *Buffoonry*, after this manner, *Let me have my Queen*, (as he *Insolently*, and in *Ridicule* Treats Her *Majesty*) *and Lords, and Commons, and let him have as many Estates as he will.*

But I was surpriz'd to find this *Author* of the *Occasional Letter* (whom I suppose of an *Higher Figure*) to *Chime in* with such *Senseless Scribblers*, and to *Trump up* this *Fargon* again upon Us! There must be some *Design on Foot*! If he had kept the *Church*, he might have found a Solution of this Point, in the *Office for Gunpowder-Treason* (which is likewise an *Act of Parliament*) where we Bless God for Preserving the *King*, and the *Three Estates of this Realm, Assembled in Parliament*.

Who these *Estates* are, is plainly set down, 24 H. 8. c. 12. The first are the *Prelates or Lords Spiritual*, Representing the *Body Spiritual*. The second are the *Temporal Nobility*, who sit in the same *House* with the *Spiritual Nobility*, as they are call'd 26 H. 8. c. 2. *The Nobles Spiritual and Temporal*. And the third *Estate* are the *Commons*. Thus say they to the *King*, 25 H. 8. c. 21, *Four Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and Commons, Representing the whole State of your Realm*. But for the *King*, in the foresaid Statute, 24 H. 8. c. 12. He is call'd the *One Supreme Head and King — Unto whom a Body Politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of People, divided in Terms, and by Names of Spirituallty and Temporalty, been bounden and owen to bear, next to God, a Natural and Humble Obedience*. He being also *Instituted and furnished by the Goodness and Sufferance of Almighty God, with Plenary, Whole, and Entire Power, Pre-eminence, Authority, Prerogative, and Jurisdiction, to Render and Yield Justice, and final Determination to all manner of Folk, Refiants or Subjects within this his Realm, in all Causes, Matters, Debates, and Contentions, &c.*

Here is a *Dernier Report*, and *Centre of Government*.

And here the *Body of the People* is Divided into Two *Branches of Spirituality and Temporality*. Of the *Temporality* there are two *Estates*, the *Lords Temporal*, and the *Commons*. But the *Body Spiritual* is a Distinct *Estate* by it self, and the *First of the Three*. And it is more *Distinct* from the other *Two*, than they are from each other, as differing from them, in a *Specifical Manner*; for they *Both* are Comprehended under one Denomination of *Temporality*, and are the several *Parts* of it; whereas the *Spirituality* is of a *Different Nature*, and *In-communicalbe*, with the other.

And this was made very Apparent, in that the *Body Spiritual* were not *Taxable* by *King* and *Parliament*, but only by *Themselves*. The *Possessions* of the *Church* being Reckon'd the *Patri-mony of God*, being *Dedicated* to *Him* and to His *Church*; And therefore no *Temporal Power* could lay their Hands upon it, under *Peril of Sacrilege*.

And the *Clergy* were never *Taxed* but by *Convocation*, till the *Cursed Revolution of Forty One*, which overturn'd all *Foundations*. And after the *Restoration*, when, before things cou'd be Settl'd upon the *Old Foot*, the *Taxings* us'd by the *Usurpers*, was (for the Present only Intended to be) Continu'd. In the first *Act of Parliament*, which *Taxed* the *Clergy* in Common with the *Laity*, there is an *Express Proviso*, Saving to the *Clergy*, their Antient and Undoubted *Right of Taxing Themselves*. But a *Precedent* once Made, it has been carry'd on to this Day.

And as the *Possessions*, so much more the *Persons* of the *Clergy* were Esteem'd so *Sacred*, as that, if any of them were Guilty of a *Capital Crime*, or which Deserv'd a *Personal Shame* or *Punishment*, Care was taken to Preserve the *Character* from Sharing in the *Disgrace*, by the *Person's* being first *Degraded* by his *Spiritual Superiors*, and so Deliver'd up as a *Lay-Man* to the *Bra-chium Seculare*.

If the *Church* wou'd not Deliver him up, there is no Reason that he should Escape the *Judgment* of the *Law*, as it was in the times of *Popery*. But it is Highly Reasonable that should be Try'd. If the *Church* Refuses, it is her Fault. And it is very Improbable She wou'd Refuse what Conduc'd so much to the Preserving of her *Authority* and *Reputation*.

Wou'd

Wou'd it be *Decent* to see a *Clergy-Man* Hang'd in his *Gown* ?
And were it not fit some other Hand shou'd *Dis-Robe* him,
than the *Executioner* ?

The *Canonical Habit* is not so *Sacred* as the *Character*.

We have seen *Clergy-Men* both *Whipp'd* and *Pillory'd*, and *Hang'd* too, within these few Years, without being *Degraded*, or the Question so much as Ask'd at their *Bishops*, or perhaps their Knowing it, but as others, from the *Publick News*.

Tho' the *Exemption* of *Clergy-Men* from the *Secular Power*, even in *Secular Causes*, was an *Unreasonable* and *Unjust Usurpation* of *Popery* ; yet *Christianity*, and *Regard* to *Religion* in *General*, do's Require, That the *Ministers* thereof, should be so far *Exempted* from *Publick Contempt*, as that when they suffer for *Personal Crimes*, their *Punishment* shou'd be only *Personal*, and their *Profession* not *Suffer* with them.

However, while the *Laws* so stood, no *Clergy-Man*, till *Reduc'd* to a *Lay-Man*, cou'd be *Try'd* by *Lay-Men*. Which Abundantly shews the *Spirituality* to be a *Distinct Estate*.

And by the way, this seems a full Confutation of that (with *of Bishopt*
Submission) *Vulgar Error*, even amongst our *Lawyers*, That a *Bi-*
ishop has all the *Privileges* of other *Peers*, except that of *being Try'd*
by their Peers. *being Try-*
ed by their Peers. For which the Reason given is, That there is no *Precedent* for it in our *Law*. How cou'd there, when a *Bishop* cou'd not be *Try'd* at all, but by his *Fellow-Bishops* ? These only were Reckon'd his *Peers*, as being *Members* of the *First Estate* : And no *Member* of one *Estate*, is to be *Try'd* by any other *Estate*, But when a *Bishop* was *Degraded*, he was put out of that *Estate*, and *Reduc'd* to a plain *Commoner*, and *Try'd* as such. The same as if a *Temporal Peer* were *degraded*. There are *Temporal Peers* whose *Honours* are *Annex'd* to such a *Castle* or *Mannor*, which if they *Sell*, they *Lose* their *Honour* and *Peerage*. And after are to be *Try'd* by their then *Peers*, the *Commons*. I take the *Cases* to be *Parallel*. And tho' the *Bishops* are mostly *Reduc'd* to the *Temporal Peerage*, except the *Privilege* of *Absenting*, if they Please, in *Tryals of Blood* ; yet surely they are not brought below that *Peerage*, while they *Retain* some *Privileges* still above it. And while a *Bishop* is a *Peer*, he must have all the *Privileges* of the *Peerage* ; unless what is taken away by *Act of Parliament*.

For what else can take it away? See the Learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* his *Grand Question*.

But to return. Tho' the *Body Spiritual* ever was, and is still so Distinguishingly the *First* of the Three *Estates*, yet it is but *Part* of the *Body* of the *Realm*. The *King*, and he *Only*, is the *Head* of the *Realm*.

And the *Crown* belongs to Him *Alone*, without any *Partners*. And is in no *Earthly Subjection*, as it is Declar'd, 16 Rich. 2. c. 5. *That the Crown of England has been so Free at all times, that it bath been in no Earthly Subjection, but Immediately Subject to God, in all things touching the Regality of the same Crown, and to none other.* Then surely not to his Subjects. As the Three *Estates* are.

And thus they Stile themselves, 1 Eliz. c. 3. Where *Both Houses of Parliament*, the *Lords Spiritual*, and *Temporal*, and *Commons* say to Her *Majesty*, *We your Faithful and Obedient Subjects, Representing the Three Estates of your Realm of England, &c.*

Many other *Statutes* may be Quoted to this Purpose. But it is strange that *Clamour* has not been silenc'd, by the *Act* (yet *Un-Repeal'd*) of 12 Car. 2. c. 30. Which was made on purpose against the *Trayterous Principles and Pretences of Forty One*, particularly this of making the *King* Co-ordinate with the *Two Houses of Parliament*, and *One* of the *Three Estates*; and explaining the former *Laws* in this Point. And there it is declar'd, *That by the undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor Both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively or Representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have, any Coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.*

And 13 Car. 2. c. 1. It is made *Premunire*, either by *Writing*, *Printing*, *Preaching*, or other *Speaking*, to *Declare* or *Affirm*, *That both Houses of Parliament, or either Houses of Parliament, have, or bath a Legislative Power, without the King, or any other Words to the same Effect.*

Again, in the same *Statute*. cap. 6. That the *Power* of the *Sword* is solely in the *King*; *And that both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot, nor ought to pretend to the same*; *Nor can, nor Lawfully may Raise or Levy any War, Offensive or Defensive, against*

against His Majesty, His Heirs, or Lawful Successors; and yet the contrary thereof hath of late Years been practised, almost to the Ruin and Destruction of this Kingdom; and during the late Usurp'd Governments, many Evil and Rebellious Principles have been distilled into the Minds of the People of this Kingdom, which, unless prevented, may break forth to the Disturbance of the Peace and Quiet thereof.

And cap. 1. It is said, That the Growth and Encrease of the late Troubles and Disorders, did in a very great Measure proceed from a Multitude of Seditious Sermons, Pamphlets and Speeches, daily Preached and Published, with a Transcendent Boldness defaming the Person and Government of your Majesty, and your Royal Father, wherein Men were too much Encourag'd: And above all, from the Wilful Mistake of the Supream and Lawful Authority, whilst Men were forward to cry up and Maintain those Orders and Ordinances, Oaths, and Covenants, to be Acts Legal and Warrantable, which in themselves had not the least Colour of Law or Justice to support them; from which kind of Distempers, as the present Age is not yet wholly freed, so Posterity may be apt to Relapse into them, if a lively Remedy be not provided, &c.

I think enough has been said to clear the Sense of the Law in this Point, of the King being One of the Three Estates, and Coordinate with the other Two. Which wou'd make such a Centre and Ballance of Power, as three Kings of Brandford! For indeed, it is setting up three Kings. What else are three Powers, each Independent and Un-accountable to Either or Both of the other? And, as our Author before Quoted says, when none of them Know, nor will Determine what Share of the Ballance of Power is their Due.

This is the Curious Watch we are told of in Dr. K——'s late Thanksgiving Sermon upon the 31st. of January 1704. Which, the oftner it is out of Order, shews the Greater Delicacy in the Stricture!

There is such a Curious Watch now set-up to Auction in Poland. And our Whigs bid fair for it, to have it brought over hither, as a Regulator to our Time of the Day!

What a Curious thing would it be, if Thirty two Palatines, and every Man in Poland (of whom each has a Negative) should all Agree to a Tittle!

But

But if One starts out of the way, there is a Pin lost in the Watch, and all is out of Order! Which shews the *Stricture* to be Most *Delicate*!

Such is of the *Power* of the *People* with Us, which every Man may set-up, for or against *King*, *Lords*, or *Commons*, as he thinks fit. And *Legion* against them All! Of which there is a New Edition just now come out, with *Additions* of Millions.

The *Author* of the *Occasional Letter* having Dress'd up the *Constitution* of *England* in such a *Frame* as this, had Reason to say, as he do's in the same *Page* before Quoted, p. 16. *Now this Government of ours so Modelled, can Never be said to be Deriv'd to us by any Divine Right.* No indeed! Nor by any *Right*, or even *Common Sense*! But this is come upon him and his New *Accomplices*, as the words of the *Act* of *Parliament* before Quoted says, *from a wilful Mistake of the Supreme and Lawful Authority*.

But he goes on, and says, p. 17. *I fancy those that Contend most for the Divine Right of Kings, will Allow that their Monarchs cannot Lawfully be Limited by the People, as I am sure ours are.*

Now suppose another should be as *Positive* as you are? And as *Sure*, that you Cannot be *Sure*! For however *your Monarchs*, as you Call them, or Wou'd have them, are *Limited*, I am sure it is not by the *People*. But by a *Party*, that call themselves the *People*, as every other *Party* of the *People* may, and always do, when they Rise-up to Overturn *Governments*.

You may say, the *People* are *Represented* as well as you can Contrive. That may be. But you can never Contrive it. How are they *Represented*, when much the *Major Number* have no *Vote* in the *Election*? How can it be, When, according to the *Scheme of Power* in the *People*, the *Consent* of every *Individual* is *Necessary*? As Mr. L.—K. makes it out in his so much Fam'd *Two Treatises of Government*, Book 2. Chap. 8. p. 316. Printed, 1690. But in this *Sense*, the *People* are such an *Unweildy Body*, that they can do nothing, can do no *Act*, either *Good* or *Bad*? Not so much as to Ask, *What's a Clock?*

But in the Position of which you are so Sure, there is the word *Lawfully*, —— *Cannot Lawfully be Limited?* — Now if by *Lawfully* you mean, according to the *Law of the Land*, you are Determin'd by the *Act of Parliament* just now quoted, which makes it *Unlawful* for Either or Both *Houses of Parliament*, or for the *People*, either *Collectively* or *Representatively* to have any *Coercive Power* over the *King*.

But if by *Lawful*, you mean not the *Law of the Land*, but the *Law of Nature*, by which *Government* was first Erected among *Mankind*; then you must come to the *Original*, and the first *Division* of *Nations*. And see if you can give a Plainer Account of it, and better *Vouch'd*, than the *New Assoc.* has shew'd from *Genesis*. To which you have given no Answer. And let me add, that this *Division of Nations* was not brought to pass *Gradually*, in a long *Tract of Time*, and in several *Ages*, as *People* Multiply'd and Spread over the Earth: But it was one *Act*, done at one *Time*, by that most Astonishing *Miracle* of the *Division of Tongues*, which did Distinguish the *Nations*. And that this was a most Remarkable *Time*, and Greatly *Notic'd*, appears from *Gen. x. 25*. When the Name of *Peleg* (which signifies *Division*) was given to the Son of *Eber*, for, as the *Text* says, *In his Days was the Earth Divided*. This was one of the most Memorable *Eraes* of the *World*. And ought not to be Forgotten by *Us*. How can it be Forgotten, while the *Mark* of it still Remains with *Us*, that is, the Multiplicity of *Languages*? But it is Forgotten! And the best Reason I can Assign for it, is, That our *Republican Vertuoso's*, who are generally *Deists*, are better vers'd in *Heathen Authors*, than in the *Holy Scriptures*; which they seldom Read, but to *Ridicule*, or pick *Holes* in them. They are not in the Class of their *Belle Lettre*. And *Horace* or *Tacitus* is a better *Text* with them, than *Genesis*. But as there is no *Heathen Author* Extant so Antient as *Moses*, so likewise (as we are told in the second *Par.* of *New Assoc. Suppl.* p. 8.) there is no *Heathen History* whatsoever, wherein there is the least *Footstep* or *Umbrage* of this *Independent Condition of Mankind*, when they were All in this suppos'd State of *Nature*; without any *Government* among them. Therefore these *Scheme-Makers* go to their own *Brains*, and Invent, Contrive, and Fancy such *Times* and *Circumstances* of

of *Mankind*, as never were in the *World*! And from thence (to shew their *Ingenuity*) Frame such *Models* and *Originals* of *Government*, as are all *Impossibilities*! And at the same time, call this Account from *Genesis*, a *Precarious Supposition*. As this *Occasional Letter* does, p. 17. If the History of *Genesis* be *Precarious* with Them, they are desir'd to shew a *Better* on their side.

And this is not meer Matter of *Speculation*. It is of the Highest *Importance* to have it *Settl'd* and *Determin'd*. Because it is the only *Asylum* to which our *Mutinous* and *Seditious Spirits* do fly, when they are about making *Insurrections*, and disturbing of *Government*.

For no *Constitution* can be *broken* by its own *Laws*, which were made to *Preserve* it. You see in what is before Quoted, how *Positive* and *Express* our own *Laws* are, in Barring out all the *Pretenices* of *Rebellion*. Therefore the *Seditious* will not be *Determin'd* by our *Laws* or *Constitution*; but fly *Higher*, to the *Original* of *Government* in the *World*. And there they think they have *Scope* enough to *Amuse*, and *Suppose* just to their own *Humour*! Therefore, as they have stated the *Case*, this is the very *Jugulum Causæ*. It is the first *Step* we must take, and then the rest will go on more *smoothly*.

Let them then give an *Account*, and name the *Time*, when *Political Government* began in the *World*; And *How*, and by what *Methods* the *World* was *Divided* into several *Nations*. Whether this was done by an *Equal Poll* or *Vote* of the whole *World* gather'd together; or their *Votes* sent from *far*, to set the *Bounds* and *Meres* of every *Country*, and Determine who and who should live in each, in the *Worst Countries*, as well as the *Best*; and who should be the *Ruler* in each *Country*? Let them shew this, or make it *Possible*, upon the *Foot* of the *People*!

Now in the *New Affoc.* in the Place last Quoted, there is an Attempt made to shew every one of these Particulars. First, That it was *The most High, who Divided the Nations*. Deut. xxxii. 8. Secondly, That it was done by the *Division of Languages*. That they were Divided, *after their Tongues, in their Countries, and in their Nations*. Gen. x. 20. Thirdly, *That in the Division of the Nations of the Whole Earth, He (God) set a Ruler over every People*. Ecclus. xvii. 17. Fourthly, That this was done in the *Days*

Days of *Eber*, which made him call his Son *Peleg*, *For in his Days was the Earth Divided*. Gen. x. 25.

We are told likewise in the same Place of the *New Assoc.* That this was about an Hundred Years after the *Flood*; when *Mankind* were so *Encreased*, as to be thus *Divided*. Before which Time, we may well suppose that *Noah* had the Supreme Government. Tho' several *Families* might be *Manumitted*, and have a distinct *Government* of their own, under the several *Heads* of *Families*, yet with a Due *Subordination* to their Common *Parent*. But before this Time of the *Division* of the *Earth*, we Read nowhere of *Nations*. And therefore we may take the Rise of *Political Government* from this *Original*. And we must stick to it, till our *Popular Orators* can shew a Better.

But the great Prejudice remains still, That if the *Original of Political Government*, be thus imminently from *Divine Institution*: And that every *Ruler* now, (where there is no *Competition* by any other, who claims a Better *Right* than he in *Possession*) do's succeed to the same *Divine Right* which God gave to the first *Rulers*, whom he Plac'd over every *People*, at the first *Division of Nations*: Then it will follow, That no *Ruler* can be *Limited* by the *People*, or *Any* of them; and consequently, That all *Governments* must be *Absolute* and *Arbitrary*. Which makes a Dreadful Sound to *English Ears*!

This is the meaning of what is before Quoted out of this *Occasional Letter*, p. 17. *I fancy those that Contend most for the Divine Right of Kings, will allow that their Monarchs cannot Lawfully be Limited by the People.*

As to the *Lawfulness*, and by what *Law*, I have spoke already. But that this may not seem a *Put off*, I will Answer more Directly.

There are *Limitations of Concession*, and *Limitations of Coercion*. *Limitations of Concession* are always given by *Superiors* to their *Inferiors*. Thus the Great God is Pleased to *Limit* Himself, when he makes *Covenants*, and grants *Conditions* to *Mankind*. And is *Oblig'd* by His *Veracity*, to *Perform* them.

Thus *Fathers* may *Limit* themselves to their *Children*.

D

And

IV.

Concerning the Limitations of Government.

1.

And thus, *Kings* may *Limit* themselves to their *Subjects*. By Granting them such and such *Laws*. And giving them the Assurance of their Solemn *Oaths* to observe them.

Original Contract. And this is all the *Original Contract* can be shew'd betwixt *Kings* and *People*. But it is neither *Original*, nor *Contract*.

First, not *Original*. Because *Laws* are made by *Kings*. Therefore *Kings* must be before *Laws*. Let the *Law* be Produc'd that made the first *King*; even here in *England*. We have been under *Kings*, as far as *History* can carry Us. And all the *Laws* that we have, have been made by *Kings*.

Our *Parliaments* do *Recognize* our *Kings*. See the *Acts of Recognition*, 1 *Eliz.* c. 3. And 1 *Fac.* c. 1. Where the *Parliament* acknowledges their Prior *Right* from the *Proximity* of *Blood*; which is call'd the *Law of God*, as well as of *Man*. These *Parliaments* did not Pretend to *Make* them *Kings*, or to *Bestow* the *Crown*, as at their *Disposal*. But did, in most *Humble Manner*, *Recognize* and *Acknowledge* their *Right*, as from *God*. And thereunto (says the *Parliament*) *We most Humbly and Faithfully do Submit and Oblige our selves, our Heirs and Posterity for Ever, until the last Drop of our Bloods be spent.*

Secondly, *Laws* which *Kings* make, are no *Contracts*. They are wholly *Concessions* on one side. On the side of the *King*. Our *Magna Charta*, which begins our *Statute-Book*, is *Wholly and Solely* from the *King*. And express'd to be Granted of his *Meer and Free-Will*.

Afterwards the *Lords* or the *Commons* did humbly *Petition* to the *King*, that such *Laws* should be made. As the *Stile* of our former *Acts of Parliament* do's shew.

Be it *Enacted* by the *King*, or Our *Sovereign Lord* the *King* hath *Ordain'd*, by the *Advice* of the *Lords*, and the *Humble Petition* of the *Commons*, &c.

The *Lords* might *Advise*, and the *Commons* may *Petition*, but the *Enacting Part* is onely in the *King*. He *Enacts* with *their Advice*, not *They* with *His*. He only is *Sovereign*, in all *Causes*, and over all *Persons*.

Not by way of having a *Negative Voice*, as one of the *Three King's Co-Ordinate Powers* (according to the *Stile of Forty One*, and of *Negative our Present Whigs*) for *Three*, or *Threescore Negatives* cannot *Voice*. make an *Affirmative*. A *Negative* is only saying, This shall not be a *Law*. But who has Power to say, This shall be a *Law*? And whose saying so, do's make it a *Law*? That is only the *King*. Whose *Fiat* stamps the *Authority* of a *Law* upon what the *three Estates* have *Prepar'd*. And if he *likes* it not, he may *Reject* it. The *three Estates* may bring *Bullion*: But it is the *Impression* of the *King's Image*, and *Superscription*, and That *only* which makes it *Coin*. And it is *Treason to Counterfeit* it.

Now tho' the *King* has *limited* himself: by way of *Concession*, not to make *Laws* without the *Three Estates*: Yet he has not *Parted* with any of his *Prerogative* to them. Nor *Parcell'd* out the *Supreme Power* among these *Estates*, as some foolishly think.

For all *Power* is one and *In-Divisible*, whether in the *Hands of One or Many*. There must be a *Dernier Resort*, or there can be no *Government*. And where this is in an *Assembly*, that *Assembly* is one *Body*, as one *Person*. And the Particular *Persons* who Compose that *Assembly*, have not the *Power* shar'd among them, none of them have any *Part* of the *Power* at all. For the *Act* of the *Body* only is the *Law*.

Now in such a *Constitution* it is necessary, that every *Member* of this *Assembly* should have *Free* and *Equal Vote*, That one should not have a *Commanding Power* over another. Nor the *Power* of One be *Deriv'd* from *Another*. But every *Member* sits there, by the same *Authority*.

But how different is this from our *Constitution*? Where the *King* is *Supreme* and *Sovereign*, and his *Crown Imperial*! Where both *Houses of Lords* and *Commons* stile Themselves *His Majesty's Most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects*! And take *Oaths of Allegiance* to him, Asserting him to be the *Only Supreme Governor*, in *all Causes*, and over *all Persons*.

Whose *Authority* gives *Being* to, and *Creates* the *Parliament*. And *Dissolves* them at his *Pleasure*, with the *Breath* of his *Mouth*!

Insomuch that the same *Persons* Meeting without his *Authority*, are an *Un-lawful Assembly*, and *Punishable* by the *Law*!

How then can *this Authority* be *Deriv'd* from *Them*? Can the *Creature* make its *Creator*!

Are They then Co-Ordinate Powers with Him, who Derive what Authority they have from Him?

And as the *King* may bring what *Persons* he Pleases into the *House of Lords*, without asking their *Consent*; He has not so far yet *Limited* Himself: So the *Limitation* of what *Persons* shall *Vote* for *Members* of the *House of Commons*, is *Wholly* and *Solely* from the *King*, as *All* our *Laws* are. This was never Determin'd by a *Free* and *Equal Vote* of all the *People*. Let our *Commonwealths-Men* shew that! As for what *Advice* the *King* took in doing of this, That is not the Matter. The *Parliament* is call'd the *King's Great Council*.

And we have several *Acts* of *Parliament* wherein the *King* did not take the *Advice* of all the *Three Estates*. As 3. *Rich. 2. c. 2.* *Our Lord the King, by the Advice and Assent of all the Lords Temporal — hath Ordain'd and Establish'd, &c.* This was a Case wherein the *Bishops* were Concern'd. And therefore their *Advice* was not Ask'd. And 13 *Rich. 2. c. 1.* In a Case where the *Commons* were *Complainants*, the *King* Enacts, *By the Assent of the Great Men and Nobles.* Several other Instances of this sort may be given. And tho' the Method be Alter'd now, and all our *Acts* carry by *Advice* and *Consent* of the *Three Estates* Distinctly Nam'd, viz. *Lords Spiritual, Temporal, and Commons*; yet all this is from the *King*. He cou'd not have been *Compell'd* to it. It is a *Limitation of Concession* which he has *Granted*.

Our *Constitution* was not *Always* as it is now. They who are vers'd in the *Rolls of Parliament*, will find there *Precedents of Parliaments*, summoned without either *Citizens* or *Burgesses*, only *Knights*, sometimes *Two*, sometimes but *One*. Of *Parliaments* Summon'd for one *Knight*, two *Citizens*, and two *Burgesses*. *Parliament* Summon'd to meet in less than *Forty Days*. And after *Summons*, *Diffolv'd* before *Meeting*. Summon'd to one *Place*, and before *Meeting* Order'd to another *Place*, and to a further *Day*. They will find *Writs* requiring the same *Members* as in the Preceding *Parliament*. *Writs* directed to *Corporations* for two *Burgesses*, and to the *Sherriffs* but for one *Knight*: They will find the *Speaker* of the *House of Commons* (in *Vacation*) taken in *Execution*, and *Imprison'd*, and a *New Speaker* Chosen. So that their *Privileges* were not always as they are Now. Nay no longer ago than the *Reign of Queen Eliz.* We find her *L*

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miting the Freedom of Speech in the House of Commons to the bare giving of their Vote, *Yes* or *No*. But not to meddle with Reforming or Transforming either *Church* or *Commonwealth*. And the Speaker order'd to *Reject* such *Bills*, if offer'd, until they be view'd and consider'd of by those whom it is fitter shou'd consider of such things, and can better Judge of them. And the Privilege of their Persons so Limited, as *That no Man's ill doings, or riot Performing of Duties, be Covered or Protected*. And the third Petition of Access to Her Majesty, Restraine'd only to *Weighty Causes*, and when she was at *Leisure*. I have not added the *Quotations* of the *Rolls of Parliament*, in the Particulars beforementioned, for Brevity sake; and because few Readers can Consult them; and they who are Conversant in them, do know all this. But they are ready when call'd for, upon any occasion, and more to the same Purpose which I suppose, will not be deny'd by any body.

But I will Quote a Book which every one may Consult, and which shew's the different *Methods of Management in Parliament* from what is now. It is *Cotton's Abridgment of the Records, &c.* Revised by *Will. Prynne*. London Printed 1657. There you will find *Petitions and Bills in Parliament*, whereof the King Granteth *Part*, and denieth *Part*. p. 48. n. 12. n. 17. n. 19. p. 66. n. 24. p. 57. n. 30. p. 74. n. 16. p. 138. n. 177.

Again Granted with *Exceptions, Addition, Explanation*, or upon *Condition*. p. 39. n. 34. p. 46. n. 44. p. 48. n. 14. p. 60. n. 45. p. 62. n. 57. Answer to the *Articles of the Clergy*. p. 33. n. 33. p. 70. n. 8. n. 19. p. 80. n. 29. p. 82. n. 15. p. 96. n. 12. p. 97. n. 19. p. 118. n. 20. p. 126. n. 67. p. 130. n. 109. p. 131. n. 113. 115. p. 132. n. 124. p. 140. n. 199. p. 159. n. 57. p. 152. at the End. p. 166, n. 131.

Now the Use I have to make of these Things, is to shew, That neither the *Constitution* or *Privileges of Parliaments* are *Original Rights, or Fundamentals*; but *Variable and Changeable*. Nor do they Flow from the *People* at all, but are, and ever were the *Concessions and Grants of Kings*, and nothing else.

And as to all these *Limitations*, I now say, in Direct Answer to our *Author*, That the King cannot be Lawfully *Limited* by the *People*. He cannot be Limited but by *Himself*, That is by the

the *Law*, which is made by *Him*, and cannot be made without *Him*.

2. But now as to *Limitations of Coercion*. No *Supreme Power* can Grant any such. Because it *ipso facto* Dissolves the *Government*. For it sets up a *Power* that is *Superior* to the *Supreme*, which is a *Contradiction*: And the *Supreme* does *ipso facto* cease to be *Supreme*, and that other *Superior* becomes *Supreme*. And if *Power* of *Coercion* be given to *Another* over that *Superior*, that *Other* becomes *Supreme*. And so in *Infinitum*. There can be no *Basis* or *Centre of Government*, at this Rate.

Therefore my Lord *Bacon* sets this down as a *Maxim* of our *Law*, as well as of *Reason*, That *Suprema Potestas seipsum Dissolvere potest, Ligare non potest*. That the *Supreme Power* may *Dissolve it self, but cannot Limit it self*. This is to be understood of *Limitations of Coercion*. For, no Doubt, the *Supreme Power* may *Grant Concessions*. But not so, as to give any other *Power* over it self; for that *Dissolves it*.

Now as it is *Absurd* and *Blasphemous* to say, That *God* can *Limit* *Himself*, so as to put *Himself* under the *Coercive Power* of any. So it is *Treasonable* and *Inconsistent* with *Government* to say, That the *King* can. And this is sufficiently *Sectar'd* in the *Acts of Parliament* before Quoted, which Declare, That neither the *Parliament*, nor the *People*, either *Collectively*, or *Representatively*, have any *Coercive Power* over the *King*.

My *Father*, as my *King*, may *Limit* the *Power* he has over me, by *Concessions* to me. But to say, That this *Infers a Coercive Power* in me over him, so that if he breaks those *Conditions* to me, as I think, or please to Pretend; I may lawfully lay *Hands* upon him, turn him out of *Doors*, and seize upon his *House* and *Inheritance* for my self: This *Principle* would *Dissolve all Relations*, as 'twixt *Children* and *Parents*, so betwixt *King* and *Subjects*, *Servants* and *Masters*, and in short, of *Whole Mankind*.

And this is the most *Effectual Barr* to hinder *Kings*, *Fathers*, or *Masters* to give any *Concessions*. And introduceth a *Necessity* of a *Rigorous Government*: Since no *Favour* can be shew'd, without the *Destruction* of the *Donor*.

There-

Therefore the best Security we can have against *Tyranny* in our *Governours*, is, by a *Dutiful Submission*, to Encourage them to be Good to Us. And by *Loyal Principles* to render them *Safe* and *Secure* in whatever *Concessions* they shall Please to Give Us. No Man ever yet Hated his own *Flesh*, but Loveth and Cherisheth it. All Men desire to preserve their *Possessions*, and what Belongs to them. The Glory of a *King* is the *Multitude*, the *Riches*, and *Strength* of his *Subjects*. And while they are *True* to him, he must wish their *Prosperity*.

The best Security against Tyranny.

But *Provocations* and Eternal *Teazing*, the *Dis-Loyalty* and *Rebellion* of *Wives*, *Children*, *Servants*, and *Subjects*, may make a Man hate his own *House*, and seek all Means to *Reduce* them.

And this brings Ten-fold more *Ruin* and *Destruction* upon them than ever any *People* suffer'd, by Quietly Submitting to the most Merciless *Tyrant*.

If they should *Depose* their *King*, their *New Protector* and *Deliverer* may prove more *Tyrannical* than He. And if they set up a *New Captain* against their *Deliverer*, he may Prove *Worse*. Besides, what every such *New Experiment* must Cost them. Till they come at last to say with the wretched *Secilians*, as Quoted in the second *Par.* of *New Assoc.* p. 33, 34. *That they who came to Deliver them from Tyranny, prov'd the Greatest Tyrants themselves, and made their Freedom much more Dismal than their former Servitude.*

But no *Age* or *History* can afford Us Instances of this, beyond our own. I know none can Equal the Horrid *Tyranny* and *Oppression* of our *Deliverers* and *Patrons* of *Liberty* in the Times of *Forty-One*.

Among the many Particulars of which (too long here to be Repeated) I will at present name but *One*, in the very *Infancy* of their *Rebellion*, when they were making the *Fairest Pretences* in the Year 1642. A Committee only of the *House of Commons*, consisting of these Worthy *Patriots*, having first, by *Authority* and *Force* of their *Mobb*, *Driv'n away* some, and *Imprison'd* others of the *Lawful Members* of their *House*, who they knew would stand by the *Laws*; did Assume to *Themselves* the Name of the *People of England*; and by an *Ordinance* of their own, without *King* or *House*

A notable instance of Liberty and Property.

House of Lords, did Impower Four Men of their own Choosing, to *Value* every Man's *Estate*, at what they *Pleas'd*; (except their own, the *Taxing* of which they *Reserv'd* to *Themselves*) and to *Levy* from them what *Summ* they thought fit, within the *Twentieth Part*; (that is indeed what *Summ* they *Pleas'd*, for they could *Value* at what they *Pleas'd*) And for *Non-Payment*, to *Distrain* by the *Train'd-Bands*; and for want of sufficient *Distress*, to *Compound* and *Discharge* all *Debts* due to them; and if they suspected any to *Conceal* the *Debts* due to them, to *Imprison* their *Persons* during *Pleasure*, and *Banish* their *Wives* and *Children*. And these *Four Assessors* to be *Un-Accountable* to any *Law* or *Authority* whatsoever, only to their *Constituents*; for *They* were now the *People*! That is, the *Supreme Authority*! This you will see at Large in *Lord Clarendon's History*, Vol. 2. p 77. Read from p. 75 to p. 82.

Here is an Example of Preserving *Liberty* and *Property* by the *Power of the People*.

And all this, to secure themselves from the *Encroachments*, and the *Fears* they *Rais'd* of the most *Merciful* and *Benign Prince* that ever sat on the *English Throne*! Who Granted away to them, by *Piece-meal*, as they were *Pleas'd* to *Demand* it, all the *Power* and *Prerogative* of the *Crown*; to *Satisfy* their *Jealousies*. But they were not *Satisfied* while the *Crown* sat upon his *Head*, or his *Head* upon his *Shoulders*!

VI.
Whether
the Un-
Reasona-
bleness of
People, or
the Mal-
Admini-
stration of
Kings are
most to
Blame?

And when we look into *History*, and find this to have been Generally the *Fate* of the most *Mild* and *Gracious Princes*, it Prompts Us to Reflect, with a General View, upon the Condition of *Deprav'd Humane Nature*. And to consider, whether the *Cause* of More *Rebellions* and *Convulsions* of *Government* has Arisen from the *Male-Administration* of *Princes*, or from the *Petulancy* and *Un-Reasonableness* of the *People*?

And because we may be sure of Right *Information*, we will take it from the *Sacred Records*.

Moses.

Moses was the *Meekest Man upon Earth*. So *Just*, that he had never taken an *Ox* or an *A's* from any of the *People*. Gave them the *Wise* *Laws* in the *World*, from the *Mouth* of *God Himself*.

self. Was set over them by *God*. He *Rescued* them from the *House of Bondage*, by a *Multitude of Miracles*. Had such a *Fatherly Affection* to them, as if he had *Begotten* them All.

Three several times he fell down before the *Lord*, forty *Days* Deut. ix. each time, without *Eating* or *Drinking*, once to Receive the *Law*, 9. 18. 25. and Twice to *Deprecate* the *Sin* of the *People*, for which *God* said he would have *Destroy'd* them, had not *Moses* his *Chosen* *stood* before *Him* in the *Gap*, to turn away his *Wrathful Displeasure* from them. He *Pray'd* to be *Blotted* out of the *Book of Life* *Himself*, to *Save* that *People*; tho' *God* *Promised* him, to *Raise* out of him, a *Greater Nation* than they.

One would think it *Impossible* for any *People* to *Mutiny* or *Rebel* against such a *Governor* as this! Yet never any was so *Tormented*, as this *Meek Man*, with their *Continual Insurrections*. Insomuch that he *Pray'd* to *God* to take away his *Life*, rather than *Bear* it. They laid *Arbitrary Government* upon him, and *Ambition*, to make himself altogether a *PRINCE* over them. They did not like this *Governor* of *God's Appointment*: They were for *Popular Election*. They would *Choose* for *Themselves*. And they said one to another, *Let Us make a Captain*. And what would they do with *Moses*? Why *Stone* him!

They *Rebell'd* Twice against *David*, a *Man* after *God's David.* *own Heart*, whose *Son CHRIST* delighted to be call'd. He *Fed* them with a *Faithful and True Heart*, and *Rul'd* them *Pru-*
dently, with all his *Power*. He was *Glorious* in *War*. And *Sub-*
du'd their *Enemies* under them. But all that was nothing! Nay, but whom the *Lord*, and this *People*, and all the *Men of Israel Choose*, *His will I be*, and with him will I abide. This is the first time we heard of that *Maxim*, *Vox Populi, vox Dei*. That the *Choice* of the *People*, is the *Choice* of *God*!

But if *David's Reign* was *Incumber'd* with *War*, tho' *Victori-*
ous, and that they had a *Mind* to *Live at Ease*, his *Son Solomon.*
(of God's own Choosing too) gave them perfect *Peace*, and *Plenty* *Un-Parallel'd*: He advanc'd their *Trade*; and made *Silver* as *Stones* in *Jerusalem*. They were the *Envoy* of all *Nations* for
E Riches.

Riches. He built them a *Temple*, the *Glory* of the whole *World*
And was the *Wiseſt* of All ever *Begot* by *Man*.

Yet, all this wou'd not do? They Complain'd of *Taxes*, and
his *Toke* was *Heavy*! And they *Rebell'd* against his *House* for Ever.

*Theocra-
sie.* There is but one *Step* Higher to go in this *Scale*; and that is
to *God* Himself. For after the *Meekest* and *Juſteſt*, the most
Pious and *Victorius*, the most *Peaceable*, *Richeſt*, and *Wiseſt*, whom
else of *Mortal Race* shou'd we Name!

But *God* did once *Vouchsafe* to take the *Government* into his
own *Hands*, and to be *King* Himself. He Nam'd all their *Cap-
tains* and *Judges*, and went out before their *Armies*. But they
grew *Weary* of this *Theocraſie*, and in the Days of *Samuel*, they
Rejected GOD too from being their *King*! And would *Choose*
for *Themſelves*! And of *All* they *Chose*, not one Prov'd *Good*.

Now let us look a little to the other Side, of the *Perverſe-
ness* that is found among the *Generality* of *Mankind*. As we have
seen how *Un-eaſie* and *Mutinous* they are under the most *Mild* and
Gentle Governments: So, on the other hand, where they *Rul'd*
with a *ſtraiſt Reign*, and even *Tyannically*, they commonly
speak *Beſt* of those *Princes*, and *Adorn* their *Memories*.

How the *Mild Family* of the *Stuarts* have been Treated since
they came into *England*, I need not Repeat.

And yet none of these *Severities* can be Alledg'd in any of
their *Reigns*, as were in those of *Hen. VIII.* or *Q. Eliz.*

That *Usage* which either of them gave their *Parliaments*
would not be born now. *Swearing* at them, and taking their
Members out of the *House*, and *Imprisoning* them during *Pleasure*,
and not suffering any Reason to be ask'd them for it. And yet
K. Char. I. but d ſiring *Justice* against five of their *Members*,
was a *Breach* of *Privilege*, and a sufficient *Ground* for a *Re-
bellion*!

He Courted the *Fanaticks*, Establish'd them in *Scotland*, In-
dulg'd them in *England*, and even made Himself a *Sacrifice* to
them. Yet they *Hate* his *Memory*.

Q. Eliz. Prosecuted them with the Utmost *Rigor*. Made Se-
vere *Laws* against them, and put them in full *Execution*.
She reckon'd them, as her worst *Enemies*, even worse than
the

the *Jesuits* themselves, and to have been Instrumental in the *Spanish Invasion*. As you may see in the Lord Chancellor Puckering's Speech, which I have therefore Annexed. Num. 3. And yet they Pretend to Reverence her *Memory*!

One Cause of which I take to be, That when Men are Hind'red from any *Wickedness*, they are willing to take the *Honour* to themselves, of never having *Design'd* it. But rather to have *Suffered* under an *Un-just Suspicion*, Which Use, some of the *Dissenters* late *Books* have made of their Patient *Suffering* under Q. *Eliz.* as a *Testimony* of their *Loyalty* and *Passive Obedience-Principles*, to *Vie* therein with the *Church of England*.

On the other hand, when Men have *Perpetrated* their *Wickedness*, they think themselves obliged to stand by it, and *Justifie* it. And therefore must not afford a good Word to those whom they have *Injur'd*; for that is to *Condemn* themselves. And herein is that *Saying* Verified, *That it is he who doth the Injury, cannot Forgive*,

Another Reason there is for this *Perverse Temper* of *Men*. That the *Multitude* are like the *Waters* (as they are often Represented in the *H. Scriptures*) which will go, as far as they have *Way*. And when they who bear the *Sword of God*, will suffer *Pernicious Principles* to be *Spread*, and the *Populace* to *Rage* and *Swell*; As they are *Accountable* to *God*, for Bearing his *Sword in vain*, and suffering His *Authority*, with which they are *Entrusted*, to be *vilely Prostituted* to the *Beasts of the People*: So they often let these *Bad Humours* *Encrease*, till they are *Involv'd*; and seek to *Extricate* themselves by mean *Compliances*, which Render them and their *Authority* more and more *Contemptible*; till at last it be *Wrested* out of their *Hands*; and they themselves often *Perish* with it. For that *Maxim* must for ever remain *Ir-Refragable*, That it is in vain seeking to *Compound* with those who *Contend* for *Power*. For the more they get, the more they must have till they have *All*. Can one *Exception* be *Produc'd*!

Therefore Q. *Eliz.* Watch'd the *Beginnings* of the *Faction*, and kept them under; from so much as any *Expectation* of coming into *Places of Power* or *Trust*; And she had *Peace* and *Quietness* with them; And has their *Good Word* still.

But K. Car. I. Endeavour'd to *Compound* with them, and Gave them *Part*, that they might not seek the *Whole* ! For which they *Condemn'd* him as a *Tyrant* and a *Traytor*. And have his *Memory* in *Detestation* !

It had been much better for the *Nation* to have had a *Rigorous King* over them, than a *Prince*, tho' of never so many *Personal Virtues*, who, out of a *Mistaken Clemency*, should let *Factions* Grow to the *Destruction* of the *People*.

VII. A *Tyrant* must *Die*, or may become *Better*. God says, That *of Tyrants* the *Hearts of Kings* are in His Hands, and he turns them, as it *and Re*-seemeth best to Him. He sends *Good Kings* to a *Good People*; *rebellion* and *wicked Princes* for the *Punishment* of a *wicked People*.

But when we have over-turn'd the *Foundation* of *Government*; will let it be no longer from God, but set it up upon the *Foot of the People*, which has no *Foundation*; It is not for one *Life* or *Age* we may endure the Effects of it ! What did the *Deposition* of Rich. II. cost *England*? A Train of *Misery, Blood*, and *Destruktion* for above an Hundred Years, till the *Right Line* was at last *Restor'd* ! And was the Difference betwixt Rich. II. and Hen. IV. worth all this? So that *Tyranny* may Last for a *Life*; But *Rebellion*, if it succeeds, for *Age*.

No *Kingdom* was ever yet *Destroy'd* by the *Tyranny* of a *King*. But by *Rebellion* Many have.

Yet our *Author* thinks *Tyranny* much more *Destructive* to the *People*, than *Popular Revolution*. And proves it thus, p. 18. *Let any one Consider the Cruelties that have been Inflicted upon the Poor Protestants in France*; *not to mention the many Illegal Arbitrary Proceedings that we have seen in our Nation*, and compare them with the manner with which our *Popular Revolution* was brought about; and try in his *Conscience*, if he can be of his (the *Author* of the *Association's*) *Opinion*. And let any one *Reflect* upon the *Condition* we *must* have been in before this time, had not God come in to our *Rescue*, and I am sure it will be *Impossible* for him to *Subscribe* to such *downright Falsities*, and such *Slavish Principles*.

This *Author* is still very *Sure* ! I first, except against the last part of the *Comparison*, What he apprehends might have come to pass! *Jealousies* and *Fears* will bear no *Argument*. A Man may

may be as *Fearful* as he *Pleases*. There are some who *Fly*, when when none *Pursueth*. And some Pretend *Dangers*, to *Frighten* other Folks ; to Raise *Mobs*, and carry on *Designs*.

But I desire to know what he means by *The many Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings that we have seen in our own Nation* ? I suppose he does not mean the *Last Reign*. Therefore I will not Mention it. It must then be the *Two former Reigns*. For we have seen none other.

By this *Representation*, a *Stranger* would Expect many Men *Massacred*, *Dragoon'd*, *Banish'd*, &c. in the *Reigns* of K. *Char. II.* and K. *James II.* When this is brought in as a *Ballance* to the *Destruction* that Attends *Popular Revolutions*. But when he is told, That no one *Man*, *Woman*, or *Child* can be *Produc'd* in both these *Reigns*, that did Suffer otherwise than by the known *Laws* of the *Land*. Not one *Gaffny'd* or *Glen-Coe'd*. But many *Pardon'd*, and *Re-pardon'd*, who had been in open *Rebellion*, and Detected in several *Affassination Plots*, to have *Murther'd* the *King*, and *over-turn* both *Church* and *State* ; And this so fully *Prov'd*, as to be *Confessed* even by *Themselfes* : I say when this is shew'd to be the *Cafe*, as it Truly is ; What wou'd a *Stranger* think, What shou'd *We* think (we are *Strangers* to our selves !) if such *Writers* as these, who Blacken *Princes*, whose *Mercy* was their *Fault* and their *Ruin*, as if they had been the Greatest *Tyrants* in the *World* ; when yet they have no one *Instance* to shew of what they wou'd so *Impudently* *Impose* upon the *World* !

This Reasonably *Abates* the *Credit* we are to *Give* them, when they speak of *Foreign Affairs*, and bring no *Proof*. Yet I will not take that Advantage, so as to Wave that Part of his *Comparison*, which Relates to the Treatment of the *Hugonots* in *France*. Nor will I seek to *Alleviate* or *Lessen* it, by the known *Principles* of these Men as to *Government*, and the *Deposing* of *Kings* ; Their former Frequent *Rebellions* ; And those *Discoveries*, which the *Advocates* for the *French King* Alledge he had made of their *Treating* with *Foreign Powers*, in Order to an *Insurrection* in his own *Kingdom*. I Wave all this, nor will I undertake the *Proof* of it.

Our *Comparison* lies only as to the *Number* of *Men* that were *Destroy'd* in this *French Persecution*. I have heard much of the *Dragooning* there. And it was very *Barbarous*. I *Detest* it. But I have not heard much of any put to *Death* upon that Account

of *Religion*, excepting of a Few of their *Ministers*, who being *Banish'd* on Pain of *Death*, did *Return*. But let the Whole *Detail* be made out, in the most *Ample* Manner, we will by no Means *Stint* them; And when they have Agreed upon the *Number*, with any sort of *Probability*, I will give them Leave to *Multiply* it *Ten-fold*; And then will Enter upon the *Comparison* of those who *Perish'd* —

Not in our late *Revolution*, as this *Author* wou'd Fix it: No, I will not meddle with that. I allow that to be an *Exception*. Because it was *Worth* All that it *Cost Us*! What was some *Hundreds* of *Thousands* that were *Starv'd* to *Death*, and Fell by the *Sword* in *Ireland*, in about *two Tears* time; besides *Families* and *Persons* that were *Ruin'd*, without *Number*! What were all those who *Perish'd* in *Scotland*; And in our *Ten-Years War* Abroad, by *Sea* and *Land*! What was All this; Besides about *Eighty Millions* in *Taxes* (more than all our *Kings* since *William the Conqueror* had, put together.) What was all this, if it had been *Ten* times more, in Comparison of the *Preservation* of our *Laws* and *Liberties*! But this I will say, That this is the first *Popular Revolution* that ever was worth the while!

Therefore I will carry our *Comparison* Higher, to the *Former* of *Forty-One*. And to that of *Tork* and *Lancaster*. And will Double the Advantage I before offer'd this *Author*, as to the *Number* of those who *Perish'd* and were *Ruin'd*, in either of these *Revolntions*; compar'd with those who *Perish'd* in the late *French Persecution* of the *Hugonots*. And I will give this latest of the *Sevennois* into the Bargain. Nay I will go further, and let him Add to the Account, the late *Persecutions* of the *Protestants* in *Hungary*, and in *Savoy*. So vast a *Dis-proportion* there is betwixt *Tyranny* and *Revolution*! And so little Reason has this *Author* to call these things *downright Falsities*, which are as *Flagrant Truth*, as the *Sun* at *Noon-day*! But none so *Blind* as they who *will not See*.

VIII.
Slavish
Principles

As little Ground had he, to call the *True Divino Doctrines*, *Slavish Principles*. For let these *Doctrines* be *True* or *False*; It cannot surely be call'd so *Slavish*, to submit my self to one *Royally Born*, sprung from the *Loins* of many *Kings*! Whom I believe

believe to be *Invefted* with a *Divine Commission* ; and likewise Better for the *Salus Populi*, and Preservation of the Publick *Peace* and *Security* ; And whose *Heart*, GOD says, He keeps in His own *Hand* ; And that he will Eternally *Reward* those who *Faithfully Serve, Honour, and Humbly Obey* such in *Him*, and for *Him*, according to his *Blessed Word and Ordinance*, considering whose *Authority* such an *One* hath, that is *God's*. Now whether is it more *Slavish* to Obey such an *One*, for *Conscience* towards *God* ; or to put my self *Creepingly* under the *Feet* of the *Beasts* of the *People*, of one upon the same *Level* with my self, it may be, *Worse Born* ; and who by *Hypocrifie and Trick*, has squeez'd himself into *Power*, perhaps, by Undermining *Me*, who had the same *Plot* upon *Him* ! And stands upon no other *Foundation*, than a *Pack'd Party* who call Themselves the *People* ; To which I have as good *Right*, if I can get a *Party* to follow me ; And so has every other, if he were my *Foot-Man*, or a *Maffanello*, who can do the same ; Whether is more *Honourable*, or more *Slavish*, to submit *Tameley* under such an *One*, or, which is worse, a *Mobb* of them, without any *Rules of Law*, or *Constitution*, but what they Please to Call so ; And in Opposition to all the *Law* of *God and Man* ; To the Trampling down of all *Nobility*, and *Distinctions of Men* ; I leave it to any *Man of Honour or Sense*, Whether there is not more of *Slavery and Poorness of Spirit* in *Submitting* to such, than to a *King*, whom it is an *Honour to Serve* ; And has been so Reputed, in the whole *Earth*, from the first *Division of Nations*, to this Day ; except among a *Sett of Filthy Dreamers*, who have of late Years, Rose up in our *Land* ; *Who speak Evil of the things they Understand not* ; *And are not Afraid to despise Dominion, and speak Evil of Dignities* ; *Whereas Angels dare not bring Railing Accusations against them*, tho' *Wicked*, tho' the *Devil* himself ! The *Blessed Angels* serve *VVillingly*, in the several *Ranks* of that *Hierarchy* wherein *God* has *Plac'd* them ; And this is their *perfect Freedom*. The *Devil* wou'd not *keep his first Principality*, and is a *Slave* in his *Rebellion* ! To *Serve* a *Nobler* than my self, is *Honourable* ; but to *Serve* my *Inferior*, or *Equal*, is *Slavish*. Happy is that *Land* whose *King* is the *Son of Nobles* And Wretched are those *People*, over whom *Servants* bear *Rule*.

Having

IX. Having thus Dispatch'd these *Popular Objections* of our *Author* ;
 Of a Li- Let Us now Pursue the *Argument*, we have been upon ; and con-
 mited and clude it with the Explaining of some *Words*, which are a *Stum-
 Mix'd bling-Block* to Many, because not well Understood ; These are
 Monarchy: the *Phrases* of a *Limited* and *Mixed Monarchy*, which are in
 Every Bodies Mouth, and the Burden of all our *Republican*, and
Whig-Pamphlets.

They say, That *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* are a *Mixture* of
Monarchy, *Aristocracie*, and *Democracie*, altogether. For that the
Supreme Power is *divided* between them. Thence they *Raise* their
Ballancing of *Power*, between these *three Supremes*. Of which
 sufficient has been said before, That it is *Nonsense* and *Contra-
 diction*. That *Power* is *One*, and therefore cannot be *divided*, &c.

But must there be no *Limitation* then, or *Mixture* of *Monarchy* ?
Mixture can be *None*. That cannot be in the *Nature* of the
Thing. All the *Mixture* is this, That the *Lords*, who are the
Aristocratical Part, and the *Commons*, who are the *Democratical*,
 do both Compose the *King's Great Council* of the *Parliament*.
 Which is an Excellent and Wise *Disposition*. As it is said, *In
 the Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety*. But then the *Supreme
 Power* is only in the *King*, not in these *three Kings*. As it is like-
 wise said, *For the Wickedness of a Land, many are the Princes
 thereof*. One *King*, and Many *Counsellors*. That is the *Safest*.
 And it is Our *Constitution*.

Dismissing then this *Mixture* of *Government*, let Us come to
 the *Limitations*.

May not a *Monarch* be *Limited* ? Yes, as is said before, He may
Limit Himself, by *Limitations* and *Concession*. And, in this
 Sense, ours is the most *Limited*, and Consequently the Most
Happy Government in the World ; if we know our own *Hap-
 piness*, and will be *Content* with it.

But as to *Limitations* of *Coercion*, the *King* cannot *Limit* Him-
 self, nor be *Limited* by any other. For that Moment the *Govern-
 ment* is *dissolv'd*. And nothing but *Confusion* can follow. And our
 Laws have sufficiently secur'd against any *limitation* of *Coercion*,
 as before has been shew'd.

In the next Place I will say, That no *Commonwealths*, or what they call *Popular Governments* (tho' no such ever truly was, or can be in the World) have Granted such *Limitations of Concession*, as *Monarchs*, at least, *Ours* have done. And no *Subjects* in the World may be so *Easie and Happy* as We ; if that *Rebellious Irin-
ciple of Coercing* our *Kings*, and making our selves *Co-ordinate* with *Him*, were once *Rooted out* from among Us. If we wou'd be Guided either by *Reason*, or *Scripture*, the *Law of the Land*, or, the *Experience* of all *Agess*, chiefly of *our own*. Till when, *Peace* and *Settlement* will be as *Impossible* to us, as to Reconcile *Contradictions*.

And without Reflecting upon One or Another *Party*, considering them only as *Men*, where there is a *Contest* for *Power*, one or the other must Have it. And there can never be any *Settlement* in such a *State* of things. Or any *Government* Fix'd without a certain *Foundation*, *Centre*, and *Ultimate Arbitrator*. Which can never be the *People*. They are the *Party* to be *Govern'd* ; And therefore cannot be the *Governors*.

And now we have seen all that is said in this *Occasional Letter* against the *Principles* laid down in the *New Assoc.* I could take Advantage of several *Expressions*. But all I Aim at is to settle *Principles*. And I shall be Glad if any will shew me, wherein I have *Reason'd Amiss* ; Or Mistaken the Sense of the *Holy Scriptures* ; or of our own *Laws* and *Constitution* ; Or in Matter of *Fact*, as to the Dreadful *Consequences* of these *Popular Principles*, which take *Government* from off the *Foundation* of *Divine Right* and *Establishment* ; And place it upon the *Face* of the *VVaters*, upon the *Giddy Multitude*, perpetually *Ebbing*, and *Flowing*, and *Raised up* into *Storms* and *Tempests*, by every *Breath* of *Seditious Spirits* to their own *Destruction* ; and overthrow of all *Order*, *Laws*, and *Constitution*.

And the Endeavouring to settle sure and Lasting *Founda-
tions of Government*, in Opposition to these *Popular no Princi-
ples*, of *Sedition* and *Eternal Confusion*, is all the Reason I know
that has stirr'd up the *Wrath* of these *Orators* for the *Populace*.
And it is a sufficient *Reason*, in one Sense, That while they are
F Resolv'd

Resolv'd not to *Repent*, they wou'd not be *Inform'd*, nor have others to be set *Right*. And if the *Principles of Government* before-mention'd, of a *Divine Original* and *Right*, cannot be *Disprov'd*; nor the other supported, of *Founding it upon the People*, then the *Temple of the Republican-Dagon* Tumbles down all at once; And *Restless Spirits* are *Dis-arm'd* of their Main and Perpetual *Pretence* for stirring Men up to *Sedition* and *Rebellion*. This is it which makes them so *Angry*, so *Exceedingly Concern'd* at all *Discourses* of this Nature; And to Treat the *Authors* with so much the more *Rage* and *Malice*, the less they find themselves *Able* to *Answer* them.

It was this, which made the *Occasional Letter*, p. 7. call the *New Assoc. The most Malicious and Virulent Book of the Age*. And tell the *Author*, That he Deserves the *Pillory*. And again, p. 25, 26. *This Writer has the best way of turning every thing, without any Prejudice to a Party, just to his own Humour, of any Man I ever met with.*

But Sir, there is an *Easie Receipt* for this, and is no such *Master-piece* in that *Author*. There goes no more to it than this, To fix *True Principles*, from which it is easie for any Man to Argue; and to have no other *Humour* or *Design*, than to find out the *Truth*; And then, *every thing will turn just to his own Humour*; And that *without any Prejudice to a Party*, while he only Battles their *Principles*; And thereby Endeavours to Reclaim them from their *Evil Practices*: Which likewise he *May* and *Ought* to Lay before them, *Fully and Freely*, to Deter them the more from *Relapsing* into them. And all this, *without any Prejudice to them*. No. It is the greatest *Kindness* can be shew'd to them. *Much Greater* than to *Sooth and Palliate*, and *Excuse* them! And if any will *Harden* themselves against all *Conviction*, and Return nothing but *Railing and Billingsgate* to whatever *Reasons* or *Arguments*; and seek to *Pervert* others, by *Corrupting the Right ways of Truth*; such are to be *Rebuk'd Sharply*, to save others from their *Infection*. Especially when the *Support or Ruin of a Nation* depends upon it.

Concerning the E. ducation of Children. Exemplary, and of Publick Influence. To Rebuke Gently upon such an. Sermon. 2.

an Occasion, is rather to Countenance the Fault, and seems to Argue that we are not sensible enough of the Enormity of it, and that we have not a due Dislike, and Detestation for it. Such cold Reproofs as those which Old Eli gave his Sons, 1 Sam. 2. 23, 24. Why do you such things; For I hear of your Evil Dealing by all this People. That is, their Carriage was such as gave Publick Scandal: Nay, my Sons, it is not a good Report that I hear, you make the Lord's People to Transgress. Such a Cold Reproof as this, where the Crime was so Great and Notorious, was a kind of Allowance of it, and a Partaking with them in their Sin; And so God Interprets it.

And so no doubt He will, if we give Allowance to the Witchcraft of Rebellion, and Partake with it, by such Mild and Gentle Reproofs, as seem rather to Countenance or Excuse it: And not to give Men a Due Horror and Detestation of so Destructive a Wickedness, for which they will Receive to themselves Damnation; And which Hurries them to their own Destruction, and of the whole Community with them! This Sin ought to be Painted out in its Proper Colours; the Wicked Nature, and Dismal Consequences of it should be Expos'd to the Full, that it be not thought a Small and Indifferent thing.

To this there is a Strange Answer given, *That if this Faction are so Implacable in their Principles, if they enter into Associations that are Treasonable by Law, And if they have done such and such things, which are there set down, and Quoted out of the New Assoc.* — Well, What then? What Inference does he draw from it? Do's he Deny any of these things? Or say, That they are Falsly Charg'd? No. He says not a Word against the Truth of the Charge. For the Associations are set down verbatim in the New Assoc. And the whole Charge Prov'd in every Particular, past the Possibility of a Denial; And this Author do's not Deny one Word of it. But makes this Inference, as the Plain Design of the New Assoc. viz. *That the Government, for its own Security, and for Recompensing them that they have Deserved, should order Gallows to be Erected, and without more ado should have them all Hang'd.* And calls to Mind again *The Shortest Way.* They are still Fond of that Precious Piece! *Guilty Conscience!*

Occa-
sional Let-
ter, p. 8.

But the *New Assoc.* is so far from Intending any thing of this *Hanging* Business, That he Expressly Clears himself from it; And shews his Meaning to be no more than to Trust them with the Power of Acting their former *Mischiefs* over again. And no *Answer* is given to that in this *Occasional Letter*. But the Objection Repeated over again, That nothing but *Hanging* was the Design! Nay, it is said, *That it is a very plain and necessary Inference*.

Now, by this way of Argument, if that *Author* had Qoted, *Rom. xiii. 2.* That *they who Resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation*, then it had been as *Plain* and *Necessary* an *Inference*, That he design'd their *Damnation* as well as *Hanging*, because they *Deserv'd* Both.

At this Rate, no Man must Preach *Sin* to be *Damnable*! Nor tell the *People* of their *Sins*, lest he be thought to have a *Design* to *Damn* them All!

Wolf
Stripp'd.
Append.
N. 2.

We have been told of another *Association*, since those mentioned in the *New Assoc.* (And it is Given Us likewise *Verbatim*) by some of the same *Faction*; and *Affixed* up *Publickly* upon the *Mercat-Cross* of a *Royal Borough*, at *Noon-day*, by about *Seven Hundred* Men in *Arms*, in the Name of all the True *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*; And Order'd to be *Dispers'd* all over the *Kingdom*; wherein they Renounce Queen *Ann*, in Express Words, because She had Promis'd to support *Episcopacy* in *England*; which having been once a *Covenanted Kingdom*, they will have it so Again, to the Peril of their *Lives*, and All that they have.

Now, is not this *Treason*? Must it not therefore be Mention'd? Tho' to no other Purpose, than to keep the *Sword* out of the *Hands* of *People* so *Principl'd*; and not to Trust them with the *Power*, who have all along Given Abundant Demonstration, that they want not the *Will* to *Destroy* Us, our *Church* and *Government*! I say, must not this be Mention'd, without a *Design* to have them all *Hang'd*? Is there not such a thing as *Repentance* and *Amendment*, upon the full Discovery of *False* and *Pernicious Principles*? Or, if they be past that, to secure what others we can from falling into their *Snares*? Or Lastly, That the *Church* and the *Monarchy* shou'd stand upon their *Guard*, and *Watch*.

Watch such Restless Spirits, and Inveterate Enemies to Both? Must We have a Design to Destroy Them, except we give Them Leave to Destroy Us?

Here is an Invincible *Affylam* to all *Rebellion*, and to *Blacken* any who speak against it; That they are *Cruel* and *Merciless* Men, who have a *Design* against the *Lives* of those they call *Rebels*! Tho' the *Proofs* be never so *Flagrant*, and the *Principle* *Justify'd* by *Them All*, by every *One of Them*, without *Exception*; And *Propagated* in *Print*, all over the *Nation*, to *Poyson* it, and to *Ruin* bring. And the *Principle* of *Loyalty*, and *Patient Submitting* for *Conscience* sake, on Account of any *Divine Character* or *Authority* in *Kings*, is, by these Men made the *Feast* and *Hatred* of the *People*. And they who are for *Peace* and *settld Government*, are call'd *Persecutors*, and *Tyrmical*, because they *Fear God* and the *King*, and *Meddle not with those that are given to Change*! Now whether their *Arguments* be *Good* or *not*, yet it is certain their *Design* is *Peace* and *Quietness*; and rather to *Suffer Injuries*, than to *Offer* them: And it is what they are *Per-swaded* is the *Best* for *Salus Populi*, and Attended with much less *Ruin* and *Destrukcion* to the *Community*, than what they suffer by *Popular Revolutions*. Yet this is call'd a *Bloody* and *Tyrmical Principle*, whereas that of *Rebellion* and *Perpetual Innovations*, is call'd *Generous*, and likewise *Merciful*, tho' it *Destroy* one *Half* of the *People*, to *Preserve* the *Rest*; and *Sacrifice* to every *Prevailing Faction*, the *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Properties* of the *whole Nation*, with all its *Laws* and *Constitutions*!

Now as a *Sample* of these two *Sorts* of Men, Let Us Look into these two *Books* here before us. The *New Assoc.* having *Prov'd* the *VVbigs* and *Dissenters* to have been formerly *Perfidious*, *Designing*, and *Rebelling*, and *Enemies* to *Church* and *State*, carries the *Consequence* no farther than not to have them *Intrust-ed* with the *Power* to *Act* all this over again: But the *Occasional Letter* says, p. 28. *And indeed were they as bad as he has describ'd them, I could not but think that Hanging or Banishment is what they well Deserv'd, and what the Common Safety Required.*

Now as to his *Suppose*, whether they were so *Bad*, *Perfidious*, *Designing*, and *Rebellious*, the *Proof* is *Hard Matter of Fact*, which will not be *Deny'd*! And tho' this *Author* and other of their

Advocates

Advocates, do Deny the Charge in the whole ; yet they Answer not the Particulars, nor can Deny any One of them.

But this shews how they would Deal with those whom they Esteem their *Enemies*, as the *High Church*, &c. if it were in their Power ; to make *Root* and *Branch* work with *Episcopacy*, according to the Maxim in their *Private Accademies*, which Mr. *VVesley* has shewn in his *Letter* concerning them, and the *Defence* of it, lately *Printed* for R. *Clavel*, and James *Knaplock* in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1704. Which are well worth the Reader's Perusal, and the Consideration of our *Superiors*.

XI.
of the
Calves-
Head
Feasts.

This *Occasional Letter*, p. 29. falls upon the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* for mentioning the *Calves-Head-Feasts*, and joyns with him in the same Accusation, The *Author* of the *Dedication* of the *Second Volume of the Lord Clarendon's History*, and Replies smartly upon him, thus, *The Author of that Dedication might indeed know of Publick Musick and Rejoycing on that Day, at Oxford, where his Dedication was Printed. But if any where else such Rejoycings or Feastings have been Practis'd on that Solemn Day, these Gentlemen might know, that the Party at whose Door such Impiety is laid, Abhor, and Dis-own it as much as themselves.*

Here is *Scandal* thrown, no Matter whom it hits. As to the *Publick Rejoycings* at *Oxford*, I leave the *Author* to *Explain*, and the *Persons Concern'd* to *Answer*. I will only say for the Present, that this comes from a *Party*, to whom *Slander* is no new thing, especially when thrown in *Immeudo's*, which they know sufficient to those with whom they have to do.

But I observe he do's not put *Feasting* into his *Oxford Accusation*, and as for *Musick*, that is not always a Sign of *Rejoycing*. There are *Lamentations*, and *Penitentia! Psalms*, and *Psalms* are usually Sung at *Executions*. But he calls it *Publick Musick*. Why? Was it at the *Theatre*? But tho' *Feasting* be not in the *Premises*, he has slid it into the *Conclusion*, to make the *Charge* Full and Round ! For he says, *If any where else such Rejoycings or Feastings have been Practis'd, &c.* Which Implies, they were Practis'd there ; unless he thinks to come off, when *Question'd*, by the *Particle, Or*, which may refer to *One* or *Both*. If so, it was *more Artful than Honest*. And if the *Evening* of a *Fast-day* be *Clos'd*

Clos'd up with Answerable *Musick*, is that Equal to the making it a *Feast-Day* ?

But how do's he come to make an *If* of it? *If any where else* — As if he had never heard one tittle of these *Calves-Head Feasts*, which are so Notorious in *London*, their *History* and *Anthems* Printed, and have been continued from that *Fatal Day* to this! One would Fancy this not wrote by an *Englishman*!

But it is a Happiness every Man is not Born to, to *Believe, See, and Hear*, just as he *Pleases* !

But this *Author* further says, *That the Party at whose door such an Impiety is laid, Abhor and Dis-own it.*

Firſt, as to the *Party* he ſuppoſes concern'd, he muſt *Know* them very well, elſe he cold not ſo frankly *Undertake* for them. And they are the ſame whoſe *Principles* brought to paſs the Difmal *Tragedy* of that *Day*. And they ſeem more Conſequental to themſelves, who *Avow* both the *Principle* and the *Fact* purſuant to it, than they who ſtill *defend* the *Principle*, but would *disown* the *Effects* of it.

For, Sir, you muſt know, That it is not the *Meat*, but the *Principles* of thoſe *Feasts*, which Render them ſo deteſtable; that is, the *Depofing-Doctrine*, and ſetting up the *Power* of the *People* above the *King*. For if thoſe *Principles* be true, that *King died* by the *Sentence* of his Proper *Judges* and *Superiors*. And *Justly*, too, for *Denying* of their *Supream Authority*, and *Refusing* to be *Try'd* by it.

Now, Sir, If you Please to *Examine* over that *Party* for whom you have *Vouch'd*, and ſee how many of *them* will *Renounce* their *Calves-Head Principles* — And all the *Rest* are of the *Club*, whether they come to their *Feasts* or not. By this *Teſt* we ſhall find whether this *Calves-Head-Club*, conſists only of a *Few* profligate *Men*, as this *Author* Repreſents it, or of *those in general*, who are Repreſented under the Name of *WHIGS*, whoſe *Principles* he undertakes to *Vindicate*, and ſays, *They are Entirely for our Monarchy, as by Law Establish'd, and for all that Allegiance to Kings and Queens, which the Law of God and Man requires.* How far the *Depofing Doctrine* is Conſiſtent with theſe, has been ſpoke to before, and particularly as to the *Laws of the Land*, Expreſt in full

full and very particular *Acts* of *Parliament*, yet *Un-repeal'd*, as to any *Coercive Power* over the *King*, in the *People* either *Collectively* or *Representatively*. So that if we will be Determin'd by the *Laws*, the *Laws* have Determin'd Us: And if we fly Higher, to the *Original of Nations* upon the *Earth*, then we hope from the next *Occasional Letter* (since we are to have more, for this is but *Numb. 1.*) a *Clearer* and more *Certain Account* of it than what is before given. Till which be done, it is not a *Few Profligate*, but the whole *Body* of the *Whigs*, that lie under the *Imputation*. And they are desired to shew, How they *have always Detested the Barbarous Murther of K. Ch. I.* (as this Author says) while they *have always Maintain'd* the very same *Principles*, which (more *Guiltily* than the *Ax*) cut off his *Head*! And which still do *Threaten* all *Kings* and *Queens* that ever shall wear the *Crown* in *England*! And which actually pass the same *Sentence* upon All who are not *Better* than that *Blessed Martyr*! Who are not more *Vertuous*, more *Pious* than He! More *Willing*, more *Ready* to Give up their *Prerogative*, and *Grant Concessions*, to whatever *Prevailing Party* Pretend to *Act* in the *Name* of the *People*! Or, who *Obstinately*, like him, shall deny the *Authority* of these their *Constituents*, to call them to *Account*, to *Adjudge* the *Crown* from off their *Heads*, or their *Heads* off their *Shoulders*! For that is the Highest *Treason* and *Rebellion* any *King* can commit against his *Sovereign Lord*, the *People*! It is a downright *Dis-owning* of their *Authority*, and *Usurping* it to *Himself*! It is a making *Them* his *Subjects*, instead of his being *Subject* unto *Them*!

Now when the *Whigs* call it a *Barbarous Murther* in the *People*, to put such a *King* to *Death*: And yet Maintain the same *Principle* upon which they did it; it is Impossible *Both* shou'd be *True*, because they are *Contradictions*; And in which of them they Play the *Hypocrite* is easily Discern'd; while they *Act* upon the one, the *Principle of Power* in the *People*, openly *Assert* and *defend* it; and *Persecute* those who Deny it, as *dis-affected*, *Seditious*, and which is worse, as *High-Church-Men*! But their Acknowledgments to the *Martyr*, is only in *Words*, and that very *Short*, a *Passing Expression* or so, for *Popularity* sake, since it is the *Fashion*; but without any *Reason* given for it, or so much as saying, That he did not deserve to *die*, who Deny'd, and Refus'd

Refus'd to *Submit* himself to the *Supream Power* of the *People*. Such *Crocodile-Tears* as they bestow upon the *Hearse* of the *Martyr*, while they *Justifie* the *Fact* in all its *Consequences*, is a more *Outrageous* and *Provoking Mockery*, than the *Bare-fac'd Impudency* of the *Calves-Head-Feasts*!

But if there are any indeed of so very weak a Judgment, as to think that they can pay a just *Veneration* to the *Memory* of the *Martyr*, and yet Retain the *Principle* of *Power* in the *People*; This is to let them see, that they must *Part* with *One*, for they cannot *Serve* *Two* such *Masters*.

I am told, That last 30th of *January*, at one of the *Principal* of their *Calves-Head-Feasts* here in *London*, they used a *Sort* of a *Symbolical Ceremony*, of *Sticking* their *Knives*, all at once, into the *Biggest* of the *Calves-Heads*, thereby *Engaging* themselves in a *Band* of *Unity*, for the *Restauration* of *Puss*, that is, their *Commonwealth*; And the *Extirpation* of *Monarchy*, especially in the *Line* of the *Martyr*, whom they thus *Represented*. And in one of their *Poems* since *Published*, this Year 1704. Intituled, *Fa-
ction Display'd. The Second Part.* Which deserves its *Room* among their *Anthems*, they speak it out as Plainly, p. 21. Where *Justifying* the *Deposition* of the Late K. *Jam. II.* They say.

*I own the Right an Injur'd Nation did,
When She from Rome Her Threatn'd Altars freed,
Applaud the Just and more Approv'd Design,
Of quite Exploding that detested Line.*

Is not this fair *Warning* (in *Print*, and *Cry'd* about the *Streets*) to his *Daughter*, now *Sitting* upon his *Throne*!

When any Person is Dear to us, we use to *Embalm* his *Me-
mory*, and cannot seek Occasions to Bespatter and Revile him; As this Author does, tho' he says he does it not, p. 9, 10. viling *the* Where coming to Answer the *Abolition* of *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, and the *Cruel Usage* the *Clergy* met with there in the last *Reign*; he *Confesses* the *Charge*, for it was not to be *Deny'd*, and the on-*the Mar-*

XII.
*This Au-
thor's Re-
Memory
of King
Charles
the Mar-*

Load much more *Heavily* upon King *Charles the First*, for the same, and says, That what he advances, p. 10. *Sets off King W's Management of the Affair to better Advantage than that of his Royal Grandfather's*. Of which the Reader shall Judge when I have offer'd these few Considerations, not to Aggravate against the *Grandson*, but to do Justice to the *Memory of the Royal Grand-father*.

I Grant this to be the Greatest and most Fatal *Blot* in that *Good King's Reign*. But he severely *Repented* of it. And *Aggravates* it against himself. Thus says he to God in his *Confession*, *Was it through Ignorance that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worship to be set up in Scotland? And Injured the Bishops in England? O no; but with Shame and Grief I confess, that I therein followed the Perswasions of Worldly Wisdom, forsaking the Dictates of a Right Inform'd Conscience; wherefore, O Lord, I have no Excuse to make, no Hope left, but in the Multitude of thy Mercies* — I hope this Author will be able to produce to us as truly *Christian* and *Heroical* a *Confession* of the *Grandson's*, and then it would be very Wicked, and a *Breach of Charity* to remember his *Sin* any more, to his *Dis-advantage*.

But the *Grand-father* Express'd his *Repentance* in more than *Words*, for he *Sealed* it with his *Blood*; and chose rather to lose his *Head*, than consent to such another *Act of Abolition of Episcopacy in England*. Whether his *Grandson* might not have done the same, if it had come to the *Tryal*, I will not say, but leave it to this *Author*, to give us what *Indexes* of it he has observed; because he speaks of himself, as one let into his most secret *Councils*; for he says, p. 10. *I have great Reason to be Confident be (K. Will.) had such a Design (of Restoring Episcopacy in Scotland) if ever he could have had it in his Power to have Effected it.* Now whatever *Reason* this *Author* had to be *Confident* of K. W's *Design*, which I will not Ask, for I care not to be Intrusted with *Secrets*; yet he would Oblige the World to let us know why it was not in his *Power* to have *Effected* it! When the first *Rabble Presbyterian-Convention* was continued all his *Reign*, against all the *Solicitations* could be made to give the *Nation* a *Free Election*. And why were the *Bishops* turn'd out, and the *Episcopal Clergy* *Rabbl'd* and *Dis-possess'd*, before the *Oaths* were put to 'em,

or known which of them would *swear* to the Government, or not?

He says (*ibid.*) That K. W. made no Grants of the Church Lands in *Scotland*. This was his *Ignorance* or his *Innocence*! For when Her present Majesty had Piously design'd to apply the *Bishops Revenues* in *Scotland* towards the Support of the Surviving *Bishops*, and *Depriv'd Episcopal Clergy* there, it has been found upon Enquiry, that almost the whole of them have been *Granted* away, and that even by Act of Parliament, to *Lay-men* there, so that there is but a *Pittance* left for Her Majesty to Dispose of. While Mr. *Carstairs*, who was in the *Rye-House Conspiracy*, Enjoys the whole Revenue of the *Bishoprick of Dunblane*, by Grant from K. *William*.

But from the whole of this Story, there is a Useful *Lesson*, to shew what it is will *Please* some sort of People. For when K. *Char. I.* had *Granted* all that they did *Desire*, or could Invent What will Please the Dissenters. for their *Security*, even to the *Abolition* of *Episcopacy*, and, as this Author Quotes my Lord *Clarendon's History*, *Whatsoever else they were Pleased to present to him, concerning Church or State, so that he seem'd to have made that Progress into Scotland, only that he might make a perfect Deed of Gift of that Kingdom*; Insomuch that they *Declar'd* they had no more to *Ask*, and that he left them, as the Phrase then went, a *Contented King* from a *Contented People*; and on that Occasion Renew'd their *Vows* and *Affurances* of Perpetual *Loyalty*, &c. Yet all the use they made of these *Condescensions* of His Majesty, and the *Power* which he had put into their *Hands*, was to *Raise* an *Army* against him, and follow him into *England*, in Conjunction with their *Good Brethren* there, who were in *Rebellion* against him; and *Declaring* that they would not be *Satisfied* till the same thing was done in *England*, That *Episcopacy* should be *Abolished*, and the whole *Power* put into the *Hands* of the *Faction* there, as has been done in *Scotland*. Which you may see in the said Lord *Claredon's History*, Vol. 2. p. 283, 292, 295, &c.

This shews how far any *Party*, that contends for *Power*, will be contented with a certain *Share* of it!

The Proceeding of the Parliament of Scotland, 1703.
Printed 1704.
p. 20.

Yet the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, even then when they were at the Highest in the Reign of K. *Char. I.* And afterwards, when having *Murther'd* him, they had the whole *Government* in their own Hands, did not in all that time go the Length that they have done now in *Scotland*, to make it *High Treason to Speak, Act, or Write* in Defence of *Episcopacy*, or against *Presbyterian Government* in the *Church*.

So that we see, as Men Grow *Older*, they grow *Wiser* in *Mischief*, as well as in *Vertue*! We say, *Use* makes *Perfect*. And the longer Men have *Practis'd Rebellion*, they come to their Work more *Expediteley*! These Men have already Issued *Declarations*, Renouncing Q. *Ann* (as beforemention'd) because She has Promis'd to support *Episcopacy* in *England*; into which they are resolv'd to bring their *Covenant*, and *Presbytery*, as they did before; which their *Predeceffors* in *Forty-One*, did not so much as pretend to, in the Beginning of their *Insurrection*. Their Party was not then so well *Fix'd*, nor had that *Power* in *England*, as they think they have *Now*!

XIV.
How far
the
Whiggs
and Dis-
senterers
were con-
cerned in
the Mur-
ther of K.
Char. I.

But Leaving this Melancholly Subject to the *Wisdom* of our *Superiours*, I go on to Examine the Ground and Foundation of the *Whig-Loyalty*, which this Author Insists upon, That they have always *detest* the *Barbarous Murther* of K. *Char.* Some of the *Presbyterians*, tho' not many, have spoke against it. And on that Head, have Endeavour'd to Represent themselves as *Loyal Men*. Therefore it is fit every Reader should know the Truth of that Matter, which is this;

That some time before the *Murther* of K. *Char. I.* The *Independent Party*, and *Oliver* at the Head of them, had *Out-trick'd*, and *Worm'd-out* the *Presbyterians*, by the like *Artifices*; as they before *Outed* the *Cavaliers*: This Enrag'd the *Presbyterians* beyond all Measure, to find themselves *Over-witted* and *Supplanted*, by those whom they taught to *Rebel*. And as great *Violence* was shew'd by these *Parties* against one another (calling each other *Sectaries*, *Pirfidious*, *Treacherous*, *Betrayers* of the *Rights of the People*, &c.) as either of them had before Spew'd out against the *Church* or the *Crown*.

In

In this falling out of *Thieves*, the *Church* gain'd so much, That those Arguments which she had made use of against the *Presbyterians*, of *Causless Separation*, and *Breaking the Unity of the Church*, were Urg'd by the *Presbyterians*, with Greater *Violence* against the *Independents*, whom they call'd *Sectaries*, Disturbers of the *Peace of Jerusalem*, &c. And on the other hand, all the *Pretences* which the *Presbyterians* had set up against the *Bishops*, of *Assuming Spiritual Jurisdiction*, and *Lording* it over their *Brethren*, were Retorted with Advantage, by the *Independents* against the *Presbyterians*, and their *Classical Constitution*; whose *Little Finger* was shew'd to be *Thicker* than the *Loins of Episcopacy*.

And as to the *King*, each endeavour'd to Blacken the other, with that Part of the *Rebellion*, which was *separately* their *Share*. The *Presbyterians* laid the *King's Death* upon the *Independents*. The *Independents* said, they *Kill'd* no *King*. That the *Presbyterians* had long before *Un-King'd* him, and *Despoil'd* him of all *Marks of Royalty*, had *Reduc'd* him perfectly to a *Private Person*, and carry'd him up and down a *Prisoner*, for the *Shew of the People*! That the *Independents* had indeed, at laſt, *Mump'd* the *Presbyterians* of him, and made their own *Advantage* of this *Royal Sacrifice*, which the *Presbyterians* had *Design'd*; And were now *Enrag'd* to see others, and their *Younger Brother*, Reap the *Fruit* of all their *Labours*.

Upon this Head, it is not to be *Forgot*, which is told in the *New Assoc.* Par. 2. p. 25. But nothing *Reply'd* to it in this *Occasional Letter*, That the *General Assembly* of the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, did by their *Declaration* Dated *July 31, 1648*, Condemn the *Resolution* of the *Scots-Parliament*, which still Remain'd so *Loyal*, as to *Raise* an *Army* for the *Rescue* of the *King* out of the *Hands* of his *Murtherers*; which they did, and sent it into *England*, under the *Command* of *Duke Hamilton*, this was commonly call'd, *The Duke's Engagement*. Which *Engagement*, the *General Assembly*, by their *Declaration* aforesaid, did call an *Unlawful Engagement*, and *Thunder'd* out their *Anathema's* against it; as they Afterwards when the *King* was *Murther'd*, put all those to *Open Penance*, with the *utmost Rigour*, who had been concern'd in it; to shew, That they were no way *Aiding* or *Assisting* to his *Death*! But the very next *Day* after this their *Declaration*:

ration against the Duke's Engagement, viz. On the first of *August*, 1648, they Issued a *Declaration and Exhortation to their Brethren in England*, wherein they Address themselves to the King, in these Words, *Albeit Your Majesty, through the Suggestions of Evil Men, may haply entertain hard Thoughts of Us, and our Proceedings, yet the Searcher of Hearts knows, and our Consciences bear Record unto Us, that we bear in our Spirits those Humble and Dutiful Respects of Your Majesty that Loyal Subjects owe to their Native Sovereign, And that it would be our Greatest Contentment upon Earth, to see Your Majesty Reigning, &c.*

And as if this had not been Enough, they *Eleven Days* after, viz. On the 12th of the same *August*, 1648, sent their *Humble Supplication* to the King, wherein they tell him, *That they were very sensible of His Majesty's Sufferings and Low Condition; That they did not in the least measure, Approve, but from their Hearts Abhor any thing that had been done to His Majesty's Person; And that they did not oppose his Majesty's Restitution to the Exercise of his Royal Power, &c.*

And yet, at the same time, they *Protested* against His Majesty's being Admitted to come to any of his *Houses*, in or near *London*, with *Freedom, Honour, and Safety*, as they had *Stipulated* for him, when they had *Sold* him (for it was the *Presbyterian Faction* only, and not the *Nation* which did it) or for *Concluding* any *Treaty or Agreement* with Him till he had first taken the *Covenant*, *Abolish'd Episcopacy in England*, as he had done in *Scotland*; Turn'd out all whom they call'd *Malignants*, that is, all his *Friends* who had been *True* to him; And put the whole *Power* into the *Hands* of the *Godly*, who had *Rais'd* the *Rebellion* against him!

I have Transcrib'd this out of *New Assoc.* because no Notice is taken of it in the *Answer*. And perhaps there is not to be found in *History*, such another Instance of *Perfidy, and Sanctify'd Hypocrisie!* Except in what I am next to tell you, of their Dealing with K. *Char. II.* Of which they still continue to *Boast!*

If K. *Char. I.* Would have turn'd *Presbyterian*, have *Destroy'd* the *Church*, and *Reveng'd* the *Presbyterians* upon the *Independents*, then the *Presbyterians*, having no other Game to Play, would have let him *live* a little Longer, till they could have done their own *Business*

Business without him, and set up their *Common-Wealth* in the State as well as the *Church*.

And I doubt not but the *Independents* would have done the same, if they had been *Hew'd* down by the *Presbyterians*; And that they cou'd have made the King a *Tool* to have set them in the *Saddle* again. The like would the *Ana-Baptists*, or any other of the then *Sectaries* have done, if it had been their Case; And have had as much Cause to *Boast* of their *Loyalty*, as the *Presbyterians*! But the *Destruction* of the *Church* was the *Causa sine qua non* with them All. None of them would have the King Preserv'd upon any other *Terms*. They all Agreed in that *Point*, tho' they *Quarrelled* with one another, about *Dividing* of the *Spoil*, and setting up their own Different *Models*. But *Episcopacy* was their *Common Enemy*.

Let the *Dissenters* of several Sorts, Divide the *Murther* of the King among them. They were All *Guilty* of it. The *Presbyterians* began the *Rebellion* against him, and brought him to the *Block*: And just as they were ready to strike the *Stroke*, the *Independents* snatch'd the *Ax* out of their Hands, and did it Themselves. There is no Difference betwixt *Rebellion* and *Regicide*, the one is in order to the other. In vain therefore do these *Rebels* lay the *Murther* of the King upon one Another! One *Dis-Arms* him; Another *Binds* him; And a Third *Cuts* his *Throat*! Which are most *Guilty*? Even all alike! However it is among the *Dissenters* and *Whigs*. If it was not they, Who else did it? I hope they will not say it was the *Bishops*, or the *Cavaliers*. That it was the *Church* which Led them into *This* too! Their *Dis-owning* of this *Fact*, renders them *Self-Condemn'd* as to all the *Pretences* of their *Rebellion*, that especially of the *Power* in the *People*, which was the *Foundation* of All the Rest. For that *Principle* must either *Justifie* the *Regicide* or *Condemn* the *Rebellion*. Their *Pretences* to *Loyalty* has Involv'd them past all Possibility of Escape! A *Half-fac'd Rebel* can never hold it out. They stand surer, when they own the *Whole Truth*, That they are *Thorough-pac'd*, even to the *Height* of the *Calves-Head-Club*. For then they have some *Principle* to go upon, be it *True* or *False*. And we know, That many *Well-meaning Men* have been *Seduc'd*, through *Weakness* of *Judgment*, by *False Principles*; and Specious

ous *Pretences*. But when they come to see their *Error*, they *Retarn Wholly* and *Heartily*, and not by *Halves*. They have an *Indignation* against themselves, for their former *Evil Courses*, and Endeavour to make *Amends*. They do not *Palliate* or *Excuse*, but rather *Aggravate* their *Guilt*. This is the Condition of all True *Penitents*. And there is nothing more *Christian*, or more *Glorious*! But a Snivelling *Laodicean*, who will neither *own* his *Principle*, nor *Dis-own* it; who wou'd keep his *Principle*, but would not be *Answerable* for the *Effects* of it; such an one is the *Contempt* and *Hatred* of *God* and *Man*, and fit only to be *Spew'd* out of their *Mouth*, out of all *Conversation* and *Esteem*! Especially, when not *Forc'd* to it by *Hardships* and *Persecution*; for tho' there is no *Excuse* for *Sin*, yet Great *Allowances* must be made for *Humane Infirmitie*s, by those who are likewise in the *Flesh*, lest they themselves also be *Tempted*. But there is no such *Temptation* now in the way of our *Presbyterians*, Expose their Guilty *Loyalty* in the Year 1648. And to *Re-print*, as they have just now done, a *Sh.* they say, was *Printed* then, Entitul'd, *The Dissenting Ministers Vindication of Themselves from the Horrid and Detestable Murther of K. Char. of Glorious Memory*. Re-printed, 1704. Where p. 5. They lay the *Cause* of the *Miseries* and *Destruction* of those *Civil-Wars* (which they do not call *Rebellion*) upon the *Woeful Miscarriages* of the *King Himself*, which they say, were *Many and very Great*. Was this to make his *Memory GLORIOUS*! Is this a *Vindication* of their *Loyalty*! To throw all the *Blood* of their own Cursed *Rebellion* upon the *King*!

xv. No less *Shameful* are the *Boasts* they now make of their *Loyalty* to K. Char. II. which is Repeated in this *Occasional Letter*, and Apply'd to the *Whigs* in General, p. 29. *wb* (as is there said) were *Instrumental in Restoring K. Char. II. and wb have always Detested the Barbarous Murther of his Royal Father*.

Now if this were True, it can be said only of the *Presbyterian Whigs*, when they were *Kick'd out* by the *Independent Whigs*. K. Ch. II. So then the *Prevailing Party* were *Whigs* still.

But now as to the *Presbyterians* Carriage in this Affair, they being under *Hatches*, could find no way to *Retrieve* themselves, but

but to try if they could make a *Presbyterian*, and a *Property* of the Young King; and thereby gain the Advantage of the *Royal Name* on their Side against their *Enemies*, the *Independents*. And the *Presbyterian Party* still Prevailing in *Scotland*, thence sent *Commissioners* to Treat with the *King* then at *Ereda*. And he having Agreed (tho' the Necessity of his Affairs) to all the *Insolent Articles* sent to him by the *Parliament* and the *General Assembly*, he came into *Scotland*, in the Year 1650, about two Months after they had, in a most *Infamous* manner *Hang'd* the Glorious *Marquess of Montrose*, His Majesty's *Commissioner* and *General*, as an Earneſt what he himself was to *Expect*!

But now behold their *Truth* and *Sincerity*! As soon as they had got the *King* into their Hands, they consider'd him as their *Prisoner*, and a *Victim* to the *Good Old Cause*. The *Commission* of the *General Assembly* publish'd a Paper I have now before me, and was afterwards *Printed* in the Year 1653. Entitul'd, *Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland, &c.* Where p. 52, 53, they assign'd this as one of the *Causes*, *The Authorizing of Commissioners to Close a Treaty with the King, for the Investing him with the Government, upon his Subscribing such Demands as were sent to him*. And coming to Answer the Objection that he had done all that was Demanded of him by the *Parliament of this Kingdom, and the Commission of the General Assembly*; to which we *Reply* (say they, p. 55.) *That those Demands were Deficient*. And that a *Paper and Verbal Security* was not sufficient. And that to *settle with him upon such Paper Securities, and accordingly to Intrust him, was but to Mock God, and to Deceive the World, and to Betray and Destroy our selves*. For they Pretended to know his Heart, and give this as one Reason why it was not Sound, p. 57 *That when he did condescend to subscribe the Demands, and take the Covenant, it was with a Reserve of a Declaration to be Printed therewith, which he did not pass from, until the Commissioners of the Church did Refuse to admit thereof*. If we had this *Declaration*, it might in some Measure, alleviate the *King's Sin* in taking that Cursed *Covenant*. But he was *Young*, and willing to be at *Home*. In the same *Page* they fall upon the *Parliament of Scotland* for their over-forward *Loyalty*, as one of the *Causes of God's Wrath*, *That the News of the late King's Death being brought to Edinburgh as on the Lord's Day that Night, the Parliament*

liament did the next day, before Twelve of the Clock, Proclaim this King with all Publick Solemity, without setting any Time apart to seek the Lord for Counsel and Direction therein.

*The mean-
ing of their
seeking
the Lord.*

Yet they say, p. 58. *Albeit they durst not altogether deny duty to be in making Application to the King; yet did the Sense of the Lord's Controversie with him and his House, together with his walking in his former way, lie heavy on their Spirits, and made them rather fear a Curse, than expect a Blessing thereupon.*

How! Fear a Curse for Performing what they Confess to be their *Duty*! Is there not more Cause to Fear a Curse for not doing our *Duty*? But these Men, as the *Quakers*, think nothing that is Commanded in *Holy Scripture* to be their *Duty*, unless it be Commanded by their own *Spirit ANEW*. The *Quakers* Learn'd this *Doctrine* from them. And indeed, all *Enthusiasm*, when Pursu'd to the Fountain, is the same. They *Pray* not for *Grace* to Resist *Temptations* against their *Duty*; but, like *Balaam*, in things which *God* has already Commanded, they Ask new *Counsel* and *Advice*, whether it be His *Will* or not? And when they find a strong *Inclination* for what they have a *Mind* to, this is the *Answer* of *God* to them! And they Proceed accordingly. And this they call *Seeking of the Lord*. Thus Oliver Pretended to *Seek the Lord*, and went to *Pray*, when the King was carried to the *Scaffold*, And said the *Lord* had *Answer'd*, That he must *Die*. Some of the *Regicide* Pleaded the same at their *Tryals*, That they *Sought the Lord* for what they did.

Some have *Sought the Lord* to know whether *Fornication* was a *Sin*? And being *Answer'd* by *Impulses*, have been Perswaded, even to *Argue* and *Write* in Defence of it, and make *Profelytes* to it. And too many have they made. Thus of *Robbery*, *Lying*, and *Cheating*. And thus of *Schism*, of *Sacrilege*, and of *Rebellion*. Who ever heard among all the *Long-winded Prayers* of the *Dissenters*, one *Petition* to save them from the *Sin of Rebellion*, or of *Sacrilege*? No. They know no such *Sins*! In their *Assembly's Annotations* upon the whole *Bible*, Printed 1646, they could find no such *Sins* in all the *Holy Writ*! No *Sacrilege* in the *Sin of Achan*, of *Belshazzar*, of *Ananias* and *Saphira*. And indeed there is no such *Sin*, if seizing upon the *Revenues* of the *Church*, nay

nay upon the *Churches* themselves, and things *Consecrated* to *Holy Uses*, be not it ! We cannot *Rob GOD* in *Person*. But in the *Persons* of *His Priests*, and in things *Dedicated* to *His Service*. And we *Rebel* against *God*, when we *Rebel* against his *Vicegerents*, those *Lawful Kings* and *Governours* whom *He* has set over *Us*.

But if he will *Dispense* with *us*, in these *Small Matters*, we will be *as Good to Him another way* ! We will *Preach* against *Sabbath-Breaking*, even to *Judaizing* ! We will *Abhor Idols*, if *He* will let *us* Commit *Sacrilege* ! We will make *as Long Prayers* as the *Heathen*, if *we* may *Devour Widows Houses*, set the whole *Nation* in a *Flame*, and take the *Plunder* to *our selves* ! We will *Rebel*, and *Perjure* *our selves* for the *Glory* of the *Lord* ! And we will *seek to Him* in every *thing*, and not give over our *Importunity*, till we find *His Answer* in *our Hearts* !

But to go on with our *Story*, Oliver was then in *Scotland*, at the *Head* of an *Army* against *them* and *their King*, And *Expounding* with *them* for *their Back-sliding* from the *Principles* of the *Good Old Cause*, in setting up a *King* ; They to *obviate* *this*, and *satisfie*, or *Gull* *their Brethren the Independents*, fram'd a *Declaration* for the *King* to *Sign*, wherein *he shou'd lay the Blood and Guilt* of the *whole Rebellion*, upon *his Father and Himself* ; and *Justifie* the *Loyalty* and *Godly Intentions* of the *Saints* who had *Fought* against *them* ; and *Promis'd* to *Root out Episcopacy* in *England*, as well as *Scotland*. To *Discard* all *Malignants*, &c. I have *Annex'd* that *Declaration*, *Append. N. 1.* because it is not *Preserv'd* in any of *our Histories* that *I* know of.

The *King* refus'd to *Sign* this, as *he* had very good *Reason*. Whereupon the *Commission* of the *General Assembly* met at the *West Kirk*, at *Edinburgh*, and drew up the *Declaration* hereunto likewise *Annex'd*, commonly call'd *The Act of the West Kirk*, Wherein they *Renounce* the *King* and *his Cause*, upon any other *Terms*. And they oblig'd the *Committee of Estates*, then sitting, to *Ratifie* the *same*. And order'd the *General* of their *Army* to send this *Declaration* to Oliver, as the *Ground* of their *Quarrel*, supposing the *King* should comply with it ; which *Letter* is likewise *Annex'd*.

The *King* finding himself thus *deserted*, and *Betray'd*, and nothing else to save *him* from *Immediate Ruin*, and being delivered up, as *his Father*, into the *Hands* of *his Implacable Enemies*,

mies, did at last Prevail with himself to Sign the Declaration. Which yet did not satisfie the *Presbyterians*. For in the aforesaid *Remonstrance* of their *General Assembly*, p. 57. They lay this upon him, *That he did for a long time Refuse to Subscribe the Declaration which was Tender'd to him, for the Acknowledging of his own, and his Parents Guiltiness for the time past, and according to his Duty for the time to come; And after that he had, with a great deal of Reluctancy, subscribed the same, he did oftentimes Express, That he did not think his Father Guilty of Blood, and that notwithstanding he had so declared, he had his own Meaniag thereof.*

And as the *Manner* of his *Signing* this *Declaration* did not Please the *Presbyterians*, for that was *Impossible!* As little did it satisfie the *Independents*, when it was *Sign'd*, or Reconcile them to the *Presbyterians*; for the Contest then was betwixt these two *Parties* for the *Power*. And they *Bang'd* the *Presbyterians* heartily at *Dunbar*, whose *Word* that Day was the *Covenant*, *The best Victory* ever the *King* Lost!

But the *Presbyterians*, after this *Defeat*, sought to *Revenge* themselves upon the *King*, and Press'd upon him other *Acts* more *Shameful* and *Outragious*; which the *King* Resolutely *Refusing*, seeing no end of their *Encroachments*, was Threatned with no less than the laying Hands upon His *Person*, which forc'd him to fly for the saving of his *Life*, to his *Northern Friends* and *Forces* under *General Middleton*; where he Treated with the *Presbyterians* at a Distance, and had *Hostages* given on both Sides for Performance of *Articles*; one of which was, that he should be forthwith *Crown'd*, as was stipulated with him at *Breda*; But nothing less Intended by the *Presbyterians* all this time, till they had sufficiently Peel'd all *Royalty* from him. But it was perform'd in a very *Uncouth* manner, *January the First, 1651*. *Mr. Robert Douglas* from the *General Assembly*, Preaching the *Coronation Sermon* full of *Treason* before him, (which is in *Print*) telling him what sort of a *Covenanted King* they had made him. And the Old *Marques* of *Argyle* supplied the Place of the *Arch-bishop*, in setting the *Crown* upon his *Head*, and giving his *Benediction*.

The *August* following, 1651, the *King* March'd into *England*. And the *Independents* kept a *Watchful Eye* upon the *Presbyterians*,

ans in London, then hoping to get into the Saddle again. And that same Month, one Mr. Love, a Presbyterian Minister was Executed, for Correspondence with the King and the Presbyterians. His Tryal was Printed, which I have Read, with the manner of his Execution, and his Speech upon the Scaffold, which was Exceeding Long, and full of Cant. In it he took special Care, to Free himself and the Presbyterians from the least Tergiversation from the Good Old Cause, or the Scandal of being thought to Repent of their Rebellion and Actings against K. Char. I. Which he Vindicated to the last. This is their Royal Martyr, of whom they have made such Boasts ! And of whom the *Dissenters Answer to the High-Church Challenge*, lately Printed, 1704. says, p. 43. *I assure you the Author of this wears a Mourning Ring on his Finger, given at the Funeral of Mr. Christopher Love, a Presbyterian Minister, Beheaded An. 1653.* (it should be 1651.) *For the Horrid Phanatick Plot, Contriv'd for the bringing in, as they then call'd him, Charles Staart, and the Restoring of Monarchy.* But how comes this to be a Vindication of the *Dissenters* and *Phanaticks* ? Were they not such who put Mr. Love to Death ? But if it clear not the *Dissenters* in general, yet it do's the *Presbyterians*. As we have seen — To make use of the Name of a King for their own Ends, Divesting him, at the same time, of the Power of a King ; and Justifying all their *Treasons* against his *Martyr'd Father* ! And laying all the *Blood* and *Misery* which Attended their Un-natural *Rebellion* upon his *Head*, as the *Dissenting Ministers Vindication* beforementioned likewise do's. There is a Reason, why our *Dissenters* keep the *Fifth of November*; for that was a *Popish Plot* ; But not the 30th of *January* (excepting in their *Calves-Head Solemnities*) for that plainly lies among the *Dissenters*, let 'em shove it from one to Another as they Please ! And if they had that *Horror* and *Detestation* for that *Execrable Murther*, as they sometimes Pretend, to serve a *Turn*, they would not *Revile* and *Ridicule* it, as they do, calling it a *Madding Day*, and such like *Tokens* of their *Respect*, which they shew Us every Day in *Print*. And we know how their *Party* struggled hard in the *House of Commons*, since the *Revolution*, to have the *Observation* of this *Day* laid aside. And why so ? If they thought it no *Reproach* to them ? If they were perfectly *Innocent* of it ?

But

But to give the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* all the Advantage they would have, suppose that Part of them, call'd *Presbyterians*, had been really against the *Murther* of K. *Char. I.* And for the setting up of his Son K. *Char. II.* As this had been no *Justification* of the *Rest*; so neither would it be any *Proof* of the *Loyalty* or *Monarchichal Principles*, even of these *Presbyterians*. For Mens *Actions* are no certain *Proof* of their *Principles* (except of those who *Voluntary Suffer* for them) where there is an Apparent *Temptation* for them in the way of *Advantages* to be made by it, as these *Presbyterians* had, in the setting up K. *Char. II.* Thereby to Regain that *Power* which the *Independents* had taken from them, and used *Rigorously* over them. But they shew'd their *Aversion* to *Monarchy*, tho' thus forc'd to make use of it, by those Unworthy *Limitations* before Mention'd which they put upon it, in the Person of this *King*.

Mens *Principles* are only known when they *Act Freely*; without *Compulsion* or *Temptation*. In Times of *Persecution*, Men have *Renounc'd* that *Faith*, which notwithstanding they did Firmly *Believe*; And others have been *Brib'd* to *Act* quite Opposite to their own *Sentiments*. But where no such *Byas* is in the Way, Men are to be *Distinguis'h'd* by their known and avow'd *Principles*.

Now let the *Whigs* or *Dissenters*, or any of them, shew any one *Principle* of *Loyalty* that they have, or any *Notion* of *Government* that is consistent with *Monarchy*, or indeed with any settl'd *Frame* or *Constitution*: Or any *Principle* of *Treason*, of *Perpetual Rebellion* and *Revolution*, which they have not; and they will shew the World a *Discovery*! When they had the *Power* in their own Hands, they *Supplanted* and *Kick'd* out one another, without *Intermission*; and all upon the same Foot of *Power* in the *People*; till their own *Confusions* brought in *Order* and *Restoration* of the *Antient Government* and *Monarchy*.

And so much for their *Loyalty* at this time.

XVI. *I* come now to a New *Notion* and *Reason* for *Occasional Conformity*, that *I* have met with no where else but in this *Occasional Letter*, which coming to Answer the *Objection* of those who Receive the *Sacrament OCCASIONALLY* in the *Church*, and afterwards *Rail* at her, do's *Justifie* it, with this *Reason*, p. 25. *For*

For as I take it, the Receiving the *Sacrament*, is not Engaging to be True to the Church a Man Receives it in. This is a very Extraordinary Reason! For the H. *Sacrament* is the very *Tessera* and *Bond* of *Christian Unity* and *Love*, which is Exemplified in the *Unity* of the several *Corns* in one *Loaf*, as the *Apostle* speaks, *We being Many, are one Bread, and one Body*, 1 Cor. x. 17. Now sure the *Members* of the same *Body*, ought, at least, to be *True* to one another, and to the *Body*.

But to Lessen the *Horror* of this *Position*, which seems a *Dissolution* of all *Christian Faith* and *Charity*, I must not conceal a *Salvo* he brings in for it, which yet is no *Salvo* at all, but brought in merely to *Amuse*! For when he says, *That the Receiving the Sacrament, is not Engaging to be True to the Church a Man Receives it in*, He adds, *So much as to be Faithful to his God*.

Now, what is the Meaning of this? Is it not *God* who Requires Us to keep that *Bond* of *Unity* and *Love*, of which the H. *Sacrament* is a *Symbol*? And is it not being *Unfaithful to God*, not to be *True* to this?

May not the same be said in any *Church*, or *Communion*, where a Man Receives the *Sacrament*? And so, it is not any *Bond* of *Unity*, or so much as *Truth* in any *Church*? What then? It may be made Use of in *Dissimulation* and *Hypocrisy*, to *Undermine* and *Destroy* that *Church*, under the most *Sacred Symbols* of *Truth* and *Love*, even the very *Body of Christ*! It is *Frightful* to *Repeat* this! When the *Holy Kiss* went along with this *Sacrament*, wou'd it not be a *Judas-Kiss*, which such an *Occasional Conformist* shou'd give to his *Fellow-Communicants*, with whom he thought not himself *United*, and sought their *Undoing*, and the *Ruin* of that *Church*, with whom he did *Communicate*!

By this sort of *Salvo*, a Man may *Securely* vent all the *Treason* and *Wickedness* in the World! For Example, I owe not *Obedience* or *Truth* to my *Prince*, — *So much as to God*! To be *Faithful* or *Just* to *Man* — *So much as to God*! And so, not to be *True* to the *Church*, tho' I Receive the *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ* with her; and, in that Sense, do *Pawn* them to her, for my *Truth* and *Fidelity* to her, and my *Unity* with her! And all is *Solv'd*, by saying, *Not so much as to be faithful to my God*!

Whither.

Whither will Men *Wander*, when they seek to *Defend* what Themselves know to be *Wicked* ! When they give Themselves up to the *Drudgery* of *Writing* for a *Party*, which they must *Support*, *Right* or *Wrong* ! When they have no *Principles* left, but to serve Present *Turns* !

XVII. What else is it cou'd make this *Author* *Insinuate*, as if no *Treason* cou'd be Committed against K. *Char.* II. Or ought not to have been *Punish'd*. For, p. 27. he calls those *Very Innocent Men*, who suffer'd for the *Rye-House-Conspiracy*, and *Confess'd* it at their *Deaths*. And Slanders *some Parliaments* since: as if they had said the same. His Reason must be, because their *Attainders* were *Revers'd*, as of *Walcot*, &c. In the Beginning of this *Revolution*. Tho' the same *Walcot*, as others, did *Confess* themselves *Guilty* of the Design'd *Affassination* of the *King* and *Duke*, and utter Subversion of the *Government*, both in *Church* and *State*, even when they were at the *Gallows*. The *Attainders* likewise of *Argyle*, and others, who openly *Invaded Scotland*, to the *Reign* of K. *Jam.* II. were taken off in that *Country*. But may not a *Guilty* *Man* be *Pardon'd*, or his *Attainer* *Revers'd* after his *Death*, for the Benefit of his *Heirs* ? Do's not this rather suppose him to have been *Guilty* ? Else what need of a *Pardon* ? But did any of these *Parliaments* Declare them to have been *very Innocent Men*, as this *Author* *Infers* ? The Consequence of which wou'd have been, That no *Treason* cou'd have been committed against K. *Char.* or K. *Jam.* But only against K. *Will*. Did not K. *Char.* II. *Pardon* some of the *very Regicides* ? Did he therefore think them *very Innocent Men*, who *Murther'd* his *Father* ? But these Men think, that it is no *Treason* to *Depose* or *Murther* an *Hereditary King*; as not being the *Peoples King* ! This is our *Author's* *Doctrine*, if I can make *Sence* of it. But he has full Liberty to Explain himself. Which we expect in his *Next*.

He goes on and Accuses K. *Cha.* II. of *Tyranny*, for the few that were *Executed* in the *Rye-House-Plot*, and proposes it as a *Frightful Example* to after Ages. For Quoting out of the *New-Assoc.* how easily that *Faction* was subdued by K. *Char.* II. after the *Rye House-Plot*, and the *Oxford Parliament*, only by *shewing his Authority*, and *letting them see he was not afraid of them*

them (tho' they boasted as much of their *Numbers* and *Power* in the *Country* as they do now) this *Author* Answers, p. 26. *But if he would have spoke out, the same Measures must be, preparing Axes and Gallows; for that was the Method which was then taken.* These *Axes and Gallows* run strangely in this *Man's Mind*! Has he any *Qualms*? He will have the *Dissenters* *Hang'd* whether we will or no! But they were not all *Hang'd* then that did *Deserve* it. If more had been, some had been sav'd from the *Guilt of Rebellion* a *Second time*! But as it was not that *King's Design*, nor, I dare say, any *Body's* now, to have all this *Sett of People Destroy'd*; only *Dis-arm'd* from doing farther *Mischief*, by having no *Power* put into their *Hands*; so where any thing is *Touch'd* upon that *Point*, they have no *Defence* to make, but that *Senseless* and *Invidious Clamour*, to say that the *Design* is to have them all *Extirpated*! As if there was no *Medium* betwixt that, and putting the *Sword* into their *Hands*! That they might *Extirpate Us*!

But to shew you some more of his *No-Principles*, he falls up- XVIII. on the *Author* of *New Assoc.* for an Expression (which I cannot find in the Place he Quotes, which is p. 24.) wherein he happen'd to say, *The Rebellion of the Sevenois*, and Hews him down for calling those People *Rebels*. Now Sir, perhaps that *Author* was one of the *Jure-Divino-Men*, who think it *not Lawful upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms, &c.* As our *Laws* once spoke. And in that Case, Sir, you should have afforded him some *Reason* to open his *Understanding*, besides calling these a *Poor distressed People*. Perhaps he thinks so as well as you. And the more, for what he calls their *Rebellion*; which has Render'd them much more *Miserable* than they were before. He will say, that he Pities all People in *Distress*, and is an *Enemy to Persecution*. But he may be apt to Ask, whether the *Protestants* in *Hungary* were not *Persecuted*, and Terms broken with them, and had not as much *Right* to take *Arms* for their own *Preservation*, as the *Sevenois*? And how then came these to be *Rebels*, more than the *Sevenois*? Do's their *Success* alter the *Justice of the Cause*? Or their being a *Disturbance* to the *Emperor*, who is one of our *Allies*? If so, we go not upon *Principles*, but upon what makes *For* us, or *Against* us! And Sir, this makes us very *Contemptible* to those People who Pretend to *Principles*; And gives

Their No-
tion of Re-
bellion.

them Opportunity to think that we have none. Therefore in your next, Please to Clear this Matter a little more, and for the Future, beware of giving such *Handles* against the *Cause* you wou'd Maintain ; That you be not thought a *True Tom-Double*, either set down your *Principles*, and *stand by them* ; or else *Renounce* them ; but do not *Betray* them.

XIX. *And if you would not Despise a little Help, I offer this Method to your Consideration, to get over all this Matter more easily.* Let then the *Sevenois* be *Rebels*, equal to the *Hungarians*, or not, upon the Point of *Principle* : Yet the *Cafe of War* alters the thing, as to Us. Who knows not, that *War* makes many things *lawful*, which otherwise are not so ? Even to stir up *Rebellion* and *Sedition* in our Enemies Country ; as they wou'd serve Us, if they cou'd. Tho' I know, that Men of Strict *Principle* do *Object* against this *Method*. But we have the *Practice* of the World on our side ! Therefore, we will Beat down the *Protestants* in *Hungary*, and call them *Rebels*, because they are against our *Allie* ; and we will support the *Sevenois*, and they shall not be *Rebels*, because we are at *War* with *France*. The One are *Rebels*, and the other are not, as to *Us*, however it be as to *Themselves* ! Let them look to that !

And who can Deny, but that *War* will Justifie this *Method* with *Subjects*, when it do's as to *Kings* themselves ! Who would not Pull down a *King* he is at *War* with, and *Own*, or *dis-own* his Title, as serves best for our *Turn* ? We did own *Philip of Spain* before the *VVar* ; What then ? And tho' he was set-up upon the Foot of the *People*, and *Recogniz'd* by the *Corteze*, or *Parliament*, by the *Grandees*, and *visibly*, to all *Appearance*, by the *Generality* of the *People* ; and is now *King de Facto* ; And, as far as the *People* can give him a Right, *de Jure* too ; What of all this ? By the *Unquestionable Prerogative* of *VVar*, have we not Reduc'd him to plain *Duke of Anjou* again ; And set up the *de Jure* of *Char. III.* by *Inheritance*, against the *de Facto* of *Philip* by the *People* ? And tho' this was not done at the Beginning of the *War*, nor was the *Cause* of the *War* ; And that even since the *War* was *Proclaim'd*, our *Gazettes* did own *Philip* as *King of Spain* ; All that makes nothing to the Matter, For in *War*, we must take our own *Time* ; we are not to be Directed by our *Enemies* !

Sir, I leave it to you, Whether this do's not *Solve* all these *Objections* Cleverly. And by the *Principles of War* ! So that you need

need not be Afraid to go on with these Men upon *Principles*. You must always set up one *Principle* against another. And *WWar* makes every thing *Lawful*, it makes *Robbery* to be *Plunder*, and *Killing* no *Murther*, and why not *King* and *No King*! Remember that your *Scene* is in *WWar*, and you are safe in your *Entrenchments*!

But I would not Advise you to make such Desperate *Sallies* XX. as you do, and where you are sure to be beaten Back. You <sup>This Au-
thor an E-
nemy to</sup> throw your *Flail* about so *Heedlessly*, that you may Beat out your own *Brains* with it. What need had you, in the very next *Paragraph*, to that above Quoted, p. 28. to make so *Severe* a *Re-
flection* upon the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* for his *Praying*, with *David*, to *Scatter the People that Delight in War, and wou'd Entail it upon Us and Our Posterities*?

Is it not a Good *Prayer*? And must not every Good *Christian*, and True *English-man*, say *Amen* to it? But you are very *Angry* with it, and say *Ironically* of it, *A kind Reflection indeed!* An *Agent* for *France* cou'd have said little more. Pray, Sir, How is *France* concern'd? Is Praying against *People that Delight in War*, speaking in Favour of *France*? Is it not *France* that wou'd Entail *War* upon Us? And is speaking against such, being an *Agent* for *France*? You will give Us a New Notion of *France*? Is not the *French King* Apparently the Cause of the *War*? Is not He the *Aggressor*? And must not the *Blood* Shed then lie upon Him? *A kind Reflection indeed!* But it seems, this *Author* is an *Agent*, for *Some* he knows, who *Delight in War*, and wou'd Entail it— against whom we *Pray* every Day in our *Churches*, That *God* wou'd *Abate* their *Pride*, *Affwage* their *Malice*, and *Confound* their *Devices*.

Postscript to *LEGION*. New-Vamp'd *MILLION*.

Gentlemen,

WHOMO Subscribe your Selves *Devils*, saying, *Our Name is Legion, for we are Many*. You have been call'd *Round-beads*, *Whiggs*, and such like *Nick-Names*; But we knew not your true *Name*, till your *Godfathers* have now told Us! And if you had not been *Poffess'd*, you would never have taken such a *Name* to your selves. But you think to *Frighten* Us with your *Numbers*, and now Subscribe your selves *MILLION*, and *more*.

You:

You wou'd Reduce Us to the *Indian Religion*, to *Worship the Devil* for *Fear*. Is this your *Reformation*!

And as to your *Numbers*, none can take it to be any thing else but an *Empty Brag*, while we see the *House of Commons* is against you: And how better can the *Sense* of the *Nation* be known?

And your now falling Foul upon the *House of Commons*, who are the *Representatives* of the *People*; and taking Sanctuary with the *Lords*, who are Created *Arbitrarily*, at the *Meer Will and Pleasure* of the *King*, is a total Overthrow of your *Foundation-Principle* of the *Power* in the *People*. Whose *Choice* you like not so well as whom the *King* has *Chose*; Yet you Rail at *Prerogative*!

Upon your Foot, the *People* shou'd have Power to Turn out their *Representatives*, whenever they are Displeas'd with them; And to *Choose others*, by their own *Authority*; To meet *When*, and *Where*, and as *Often* as they *Please*. And to be *Accountable* to the *People*.

But it was never so in *England*, or any where else. Nor indeed can be. It wou'd be perfect *Anarchy* and *Confusion*.

Therefore you *Whigs*, or *Devils*, have given a *Demonstrative Proof* against your own *Pretences of Power* in the *People*:

And if you cannot Solve these things, you can no longer be Believ'd by any Man of *Common Sense*. But, to Pursue your own *Allusion*, your *Legion* must be turn'd into the *Herd of Swine*, those *Beasts* of the *People*; who being once *Possess'd* with *You*, Run *Headlong* to the ir *own Destruction*.

And now, my *Little Devils*, I'll tell you a Story. The *Secretary of Oliver Cromwell*, Mr. *Thurlo*, being Ask'd by a *Noble Peer* (whom I can Name) soon after the *Restoration*, 1660. How it came to pass, That their Party being *Possess'd* of the *People* and the *Power*, came so *Unaceountably* to lose *Both*, as it were in a *Moment*? Mr. *Thurlo* Answer'd, That it was chiefly owing to the *Cavalier-Pamphlets*. And tho', said he, those wrote on our Side were much more *Numerous*, having the *Countenance* and *Encouragement* of the *Government*; yet, I must confess, That the other wrote for the *Royal Canse*, had the *Wit* and the *Argument* of Us. They expos'd what the *People* at last *Felt*, the *Oppression*, the *Giddiness*, and *Unstableness* of *Government*, upon the Foot of the *People*. And all our *Authority* cou'd not keep our *Ground* against it.

The Application, Gentlemen, is Easie. If you cannot Learn to speak *Sense*, if you will set up *Principles* which you cannot *Maintain*; and then *Act* in *Direct Opposition* to them; tho' you have all the *Connivance* (at least) of the *Government* to *Write* on, without *Control*; And that the *People* have been hitherto even *Bewitch'd*, (a *Second time*) with your *Pretences* of *Liberty* and *Property*; Yet their *Eyes* will be open'd by the Force of *Truth* and *Experience*. And you sent to the *Place* from whence you came. And the *Nation* Rescu'd from the *Fatality* you have brought upon them, of being a *Kingdom Divided against it self*. And which cannot *Stand*, unless your *Leven* be *Purg'd* out of it.

F I N I S.

